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Pustov Discusses Timing of European Troop Cuts

PM2901191390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Vasiliy Pustov "Observer's Opinion": "Is Haste Necessary?"]

[Text] The European Continent is chock-full of armed forces and armaments. The line of contact between the world's two largest military-political groupings runs through it. Guided by the new political thinking and implementing the tenet of defense sufficiency, the Soviet Union is unilaterally reducing its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, including a reduction of 240,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the European part of the USSR. Other Warsaw Treaty Organization states have embarked on unilateral reductions of their armed forces.

Talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe are being held in Vienna on their initiative. The progress at the talks testifies to the existence of an opportunity to conclude an appropriate agreement in 1990.

At the same time, leaders of several East European countries have raised the question of the stationing [prebyvaniye] of Soviet troops on their territories. Czechoslovakia's government, for example, while affirming loyalty to its commitments under the Warsaw Pact, insists that the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from its country be completed by the end of 1990. Hungary's government is also talking about speeding up the full withdrawal of Soviet troops from its country, declaring that "there are neither military nor political reasons for their presence."

What can be said in this context? For a long time now the Soviet Union has advocated in principle the elimination of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries' territory, and has officially raised this question at the United Nations. So far, this proposal has not gained universal support owing to the stance of the Western powers. Nonetheless, the Soviet Union shows understanding for its allies' wishes. For example, accord was reached during the recently held first round of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks that their ultimate goal is the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. It was announced in Budapest that an air force subunit stationed near the city of Debrecen will leave the country as a first step in the implementation of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Agreement was reached on handing over to the Hungarians the airfield and two territories now occupied by a Soviet motorized rifle unit. The talks are continuing.

Despite all this, however, I for one am very worried by the impatience and haste displayed when these problems were raised. After all, it is not a question of the USSR's supposedly selfish interests, as some people think. The problem is more serious, it affects everyone to the same extent, and it has common consequences for all. It is hardly possible and expedient to simply deny, as this is being done in Budapest, the existence of "military reasons" for the stationing of Soviet troops. Of course, the positive changes taking place in Europe prove that neither the Warsaw Treaty Organization nor NATO today pursue aggressive objectives vis-a-vis one another. But the military danger has not yet disappeared. And as people in the West admit, when dealing with questions of ensuring security it is necessary to take into account not only the other side's intentions but also its potential. The military potential, including the offensive potential, of NATO's allied armed forces in Europe is very large, and nobody denies this. As yet it has still not declined in practical terms. It is also impossible to overlook the NATO bloc's current strategic concepts of "flexible response," "forward basing," and others, which envisage the possibility of fighting different types of war in Europe using both conventional and nuclear weapons. Furthermore, NATO leadership is continuing to build up nuclear potentials on the continent.

Nor should one forget the military activities of NATO armed forces in Europe. An example is offered by the conclusion, just a few days ago, of the "Centurion Shield-90" exercise in the southern districts of the FRG bordering on Czechoslovakia and involving 70,000 U.S. soldiers and officers, including 17,000 servicemen moved from the United States to Europe as part of the "Reforger-90" exercise. The "Centurion" exercise rehearsed methods of using U.S. army corps in combat as part of the NATO allied armed forces in the initial period of a war in Europe.

In my view, a unilateral withdrawal of troops without considering and taking into account all the circumstances may lead to the disruption of military stability on the continent. This also threatens to harm the process of the Vienna talks, and this is admitted in East and West alike. Presumably guided by the aforementioned considerations, Poland's government declared a few days ago that it is not raising the question of the presence of Soviet troops on Polish territory.

And what about our Western partners at the talks? They also call for caution in this matter. For example, E. Rowny, who advises President G. Bush and Secretary of State J. Baker on arms control and disarmament problems, expressed concern in connection with the unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops from East and central Europe now under discussion, declaring that this could lead to intensified political pressure for force reductions by the West. It would be better to effect the withdrawal of troops, he said, within the framework of the agreements now being negotiated between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We must add: It would also be better for the NATO countries, for the Warsaw Treaty Organization countries, for Europe as a whole, and for security throughout the continent.

Vienna Seminar on Military Doctrines Continues

LD2901234190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, 29 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov reports: Military activity and military preparations are the subject of the third stage, which began today, of the seminar on military doctrines which is taking place in the Austrian capital within the framework of the talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe. The detailed examination of the preparations of the armed forces of the 35 participant states at the forum is of very great importance: It is helping to remove the mutual suspicion and distrust which has mounted over the years, and to achieve a better understanding of each other's intentions.

It was not least for precisely this reason that the speech by Lieutenant General G.A. Burutin, first deputy chief of a directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, met with interest. Noting that military preparations in the USSR are carried out in strict accordance with the general tenets of Soviet military doctrine, with the principle of defense sufficiency taken into account, he stressed that operational plans do not envisage inflicting any preventive, preemptive strikes against targets on the territory of a probable adversary, not to mention conducting an offensive with the aim of carrying military operations beyond the borders of its own territory or beyond the borders of its Warsaw Pact allies.

An analysis of notified military activity of the Warsaw Pact Organization in Europe, the Soviet military leader continued, shows that the number of major exercises by the armies of the Warsaw Pact has been diminishing year by year. This year it is planned to hold 1.5 times fewer exercises than NATO plans to hold. The measures adopted for limiting the scale of military activity in combination with the practice of defense tasks at exercises of the Warsaw Pact armies confirm the Warsaw Pact's desire to refrain from a demonstration of strength and military activity of such scale which might give rise to the concern of the other side. At the same time the annual NATO exercises of the "Autumn Forge" and "Team Spirit" type and certain others are taking on such a scale that they are difficult to distinguish from real deployment of troops.

Lieutenant General G.A. Burutin indicated that the system of training in Soviet militay training establishments has become more open. In the last few years an exchange of experience of the organization of studies has been underway, not only with the armies of the allied and neutral countries but also with representatives of the armies of the North Atlantic Alliance states. The Soviet side has repeatedly acknowledged the usefulness of expanding and deepening links along military lines, contacts among soldiers, officers and generals of "opposing" armies. This made it possible to get to know one another better and to remove the ideological accretions of the "cold war" period.

Also speaking today at the seminar were representatives of France, the FRG, the United States, Sweden, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Norway.

Swedish System To Monitor Nuclear Tests

PM3001104390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Sychev report: "Monitoring Nuclear Tests"]

[Text] Stockholm—The Swedish Defense Studies Institute has conducted a 24-hour test of a computer information center which is planned to become part of the global system verifying observance of a nuclear test ban treaty.

Unfortunately, there is no such treaty as yet. No one will venture to predict even approximately the date when the Geneva Disarmament Conference will produce such a document. Even though the question remains open, the need to create a reliable system tc monitor the fulfillment of a future agreement by all its participants is cited at the negotiating table in Geneva as one of the obstacles to the introduction of a ban.

To remove the obstacles it was proposed that a single seismological monitoring [kontrol] system be built consisting of a series of computer information centers located in Moscow, Washington, Canberra, and Stockholm. The measurements of movements in the earth's crust will be fed to those centers from the seismic stations at the test ranges of countries party to the treaty. That such cooperation is possible was convincingly shown by the Soviet and U.S. scientists monitoring underground activity at the test ranges in Nevada and Semipalatinsk.

The first report on the testing of the computer information center in Sweden has been received. All the data collection and processing terminals are to enter service before 1991, when it is proposed that the system as a whole will become operational. Perhaps by that time the earth will no longer tremble from nuclear explosions.

Perfilyev Holds News Briefing 29 January

LD2901195490 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov summoned Poland's charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union Jerzy Smolinski today to make an official statement, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing today.

The statement expressed a resolute protest against an attack on the Soviet Consulate-General in Krakow and demanded that all necessary measures be taken to ensure the safety of Soviet diplomatic, consular and other missions in Poland.

Perfilyev said that First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov made a representation today to the head of the Israeli consular group in Moscow, Arieh Levin.

Vorontsov focussed on recent statements by a number of Israeli politicians, including the head of government, about the need to keep Arab territories in order to resettle arriving immigrants, including Soviet.

"The Israeli leadership is confirming its annexation of occupied Arab territories and refusing to seek compromise solutions to the Middle East conflict," Perfilyev quoted Vorontsov as saying.

Vorontsov expressed concern that "certain Jewish emigrants might fall for propaganda and become a tool in the implementation of unlawful plans condemned by international public."

Perfilyev said the U.S. decision to launch direct television broadcasting to Cuba in the near future "could not only aggravate Cuban-U.S. relations. It could also have unfavorable consequences for the general situation in the region."

He added that the TV-Marti project "has an illegitimate confrontational character and contradicts the current trends in international politics."

Commenting on an announcement by the Cuban Government about a suspension of its troops' withdrawal from Angola, Perfilyev said the Cuban side made the decision in response to an attack by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels on a Cuban unit guarding a civilian facility in the area of the Angolan city of Lobito.

"The Soviet Union resolutely denounces this action by UNITA," he said.

"It is inadmissible for irresponsible actions to hamper the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola under an agreed schedule, to put into jeopardy the New York agreements and to interfere with international efforts for ensuring peace and stability in Southwest Africa."

Asked whether there was a possibility that U.S. President George Bush will propose removing military bases from Europe, specifically from Greece, the Soviet spokesman said: "Now that the cold war is over, any of its rudiments, such as U.S. bases located far beyond the United States, should recede into the past."

Asks U.S. To Halt TV-Marti

LD2901183890 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today said the U.S. decision to launch direct television broadcasting to Cuba "could not only aggravate Cuban-U.S. relations. It could also have unfavorable consequences for the general situation in the region."

Vadim Perfilyev told a news briefing here that the TV-Marti project "has an illegitimate confrontational character and contradicts the current trends in international politics.

"If implemented, this project would be the first case of direct telecasting to a country, in oposition to its will," the spokesman said.

He noted that mass media "should promote mutual understanding between states" and called on Washington to "refrain from implementing the project and not to reject Cuba's proposal to establish wider mutual information exchanges, including television programs, between the two countries on the basis of respect for one another's interests and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

Discusses Cuban Troop Withdrawal

LD2901154490 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Speaking at a briefing here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev commented on an announcement by the Cuban Government about a suspension of its troops' withdrawal from Angola.

The Cuban side said that the decision was made in response to an attack by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels on a Cuban unit guarding a civilian facility in the area of the Angolan city of Lobito.

"Regrettably, this is not the first incident," the spokesman emphasised, recalling that last year Cubans were forced to warn UNITA after a similar action that if such an incident was repeated, they would suspend their troops' withdrawal from Angola.

Such a turn of events can hamper a settlement in the region, taking into account the fact that the understanding on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola was a key element of the package of agreements on a settlement in Southwest Africa signed in New York in December 1988, Perfilyev noted.

"UNITA would not have dared to commit such a provocation if it had not felt the United States backing, since

the ambitions of its leaders are buttressed by U.S. military aid," the spokesman continued.

Perfilyev noted that "the Soviet Union resolutely denounces this action by UNITA." He added that "it is inadmissible for irresponsible actions to hamper the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola under an agreed schedule, to put into jeopardy the New York agreements and to interfere with international efforts for ensuring peace and stability in Southwest Africa."

Comments on Cambodian Cease-Fire

LD2901163190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1547 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—The efforts of the Government of the State of Cambodia as compared to other countries' efforts to extinguish the hotbed of conflict in Indochina are regarded as "active and constructive." Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, made this statement at a briefing today.

The statement speaks of the formula for a possible solution of the conflict which was proposed in Phnom Penh recently by Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers. This formula has three elements: first, maintenance of the two governments existing in Cambodia on condition that they must be ready to give up part of their power to the United Nations; second, the creation of a national council, which representatives of the two governments—of the State of Cambodia and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea—could join. This council would have the right to represent Cambodia at the United Nations; third, creation in the country of a temporary UN administration to monitor fulfillment of the agreements on a cease-fire and foreign military assistance, withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, and the organization of elections.

In connection with this, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the opinion that, in spite of the fact that the other side continues to demonstrate harshness and unwillingness to compromise, such an approach on the part of the Government of the State of Cambodia once again confirms its good will and sincere wish to resolve the issue at the negotiating table. Agreement on the United Nation's active involvement in a Cambodia settlement opens up a direct path to the free demonstration of the will of the Cambodian people by way of general elections under international monitoring.

There will be progress on this issue, the statement says, if the other interested sides also undertake adequate steps in response, including at the forthcoming informal meeting in Jakarta at the end of February.

Petrovskiy Addresses Nairobi Ecology Meeting

LD2401231590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Nairobi, 24 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov reports: Global problems of the environment, prospects for broadening and coordinating international cooperation in the field of ecology and increasing the United Nations activity in environmental protection—this was the agenda for the second international conference on cooperation in tackling ecological problems, which opened here today. Representatives of over 30 states are taking part in the work of the forum, which was organized on the initiative of the UN Environmental Programme [UNEP].

V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, the head of the USSR delegation, spoke about the importance of adopting all-embracing measures to correct the critical ecological situation on the planet. He recalled that when Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev spoke the other day at the global forum on protecting the environment and development for survival, he emphasized with renewed force that the time for decision—the time for an historic choice—had arrived.

The UN conference on environmental protection and development in Brazil in June 1992 would become the focal point of efforts for the next few years, the head of the Soviet delegation said. It would be able to work out an international code for ecological ethics and to adopt a global program of action for the introduction of environmental concepts for all processes of socioeconmic development. Drafts for conventions on bilogical variation and global climatic changes could also be prepared by the time of the opening of the forum. The Soviet Union considers it important to establish businesslike cooperation in the process of preparing for this conference and to ensure the consensus decisions are adopted.

It is also possible to embark upon the implementation of certian ideas without waiting for the forum to be convened. This concerns, among other things, proposals to set up within the United Nations a center for urgent ecological assistance. The Soviet Union plans to hand over to the United Nations a list of scientists who would be sent at the USSR's expense to regions of ecological disaster. It is necessary to make it a practice of international relations urgent information about all disasters which are detrimental to the environment. Particular attention should be focussed on creating an international mechanism for passing on up-to-date technology. For its part the USSR is prepared to agree to any inspection in order to lift all suspicions about inappropriate use.

He pointed out that a considerable share of the funds for environmental needs could be obtained by reducing military expenditure. Nor should one forget voluntary sacrifices, including those from private companies, as well as the setting up of various ecological funds. The Soviet Union supports in every way the United Nations moves on environmental protection. In this connection the USSR Government, even in conditions of a difficult economic and ecological situation, has adopted a decision to increase its contributions to the UNEP.

Satisfied With Results

LD2901181390 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy has expressed his satisfaction with the results of the consultative meeting of nature-conservation and diplomatic organisations that has ended its work in Nairobi, Kenya.

Petrovskiy headed the Soviet delegation to the meeting.

Speaking at a news conference here today, he said the consensus reached in regard to the preparation of a 1992 conference on environmental protection was an important result of the meeting.

The Soviet Union has proposed holding the conference, which will be in Brazil, at summit level.

Petrovskiy said the Soviet delegation in Nairobi announced the Soviet Government's decision to increase the Soviet voluntary dues to the United Nations Environment Programme budget by 30 per cent.

He said this was not an easy decision, because of the economic difficulties brought about by economic reform.

"Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has taken the step, understanding that international cooperation in environmental protection is imperative for mankind's survival," Petrovskiy pointed out.

"During our stay in Nairobi the Soviet delegation signed an agreement with UNEP Executive Director Mostafa K. Tolba on the participation of international specialists in the restoration of the Aral Sea in the Soviet Union.

"Under the two-year agreement, starting on February 1, international specialists will analyse the situation in the Aral Sea area and work out the plan of action that will underlie the programme to restore the environment in the region."

Chernyshev Urges End to Cold War Thinking

PM2901185390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

["Viewpoint" article by Vladimir Chernyshev, PRAVDA observer on problems of international life: "Who Stands To Gain?"]

[Text] The other day General C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, speaking at a conference, touched on the topic of the changes in the USSR and East European countries: "Some observers see these changes as evidence of the end of the cold war. I am not here to announce that it has ended, although I am not saying that the next 40 years will be much like the last 40." Hardly anyone expected this kind of thing from the general, a well-known advocate of the "position of strength" policy. But I do not think there will ever be a celebratory salute or fireworks when the cold war ends.

This will not happen for the simple reason that no one would dare assume the responsibility of firmly stating: "Yesterday, at midnight, the cold war ended, after more than 40 years!" Even when this monstrous product of confrontation, mixed with ideological intolerance, becomes part of the past, (forever, let us hope) specialists are hardly likely to state when the final shot was fired.

In time history, if it serves the facts, and not political commands, will put everything in order and decide who "contributed" to unleashing and whipping up the cold war and when. It is not a matter of assessing guilt, that is, actually doing what has obsessed the opposing sides practically throughout the postwar period, and certainly not a matter of sharing responsibility equally—we have our own particular opinion on this score. The grim account of a cold war which threatened more than once to develop into a worldwide armed conflict reveals: annual allocations of hundreds of millions of dollars by the U.S. Congress for "subversive work on the territory of the USSR" (yes, that frank, no attempts at guile) and the "iron curtain" through which the real political landscape was virtually indiscernible to either side; all manner of theories about "containing" and "rolling back" the Soviet Union and "shoe-hammering diplomacy" in the United Nations; the Berlin Wall and the Caribbean crisis; the "burying of capitalism" and damnation of the Red "evil empire"...

One need not go on. Not only because we do not want to dig up the past, although its lessons have a lot to teach us, but because to enumerate the stages of the cold war is to write postwar history. And not its best chapters, since, strictly speaking, the cold war might not have been, indeed it would not have been if all the politicians had at the time taken into account the brutal, bloody experience of the worldwide carnage and displayed real wisdom and a supreme sense of responsibility to their peoples and to mankind. But they lacked these qualities. The reasons are many, but that does not make it any easier for people who have lived in constant fear of the possibility of new, even more horrific bloodshed. They bore a heavy burden, becoming used to it as a necessary evil, while many of us could not imagine anything different: The cold war was the logical consequence of the class struggle worldwide.

So has it now ended? One could say that everyone has his own opinion: It all depends on the view of the development of current world events. For example, 60 percent of Americans answered this question in the negative, whereas many U.S. politicians and the U.S. media are tending to say that the cold war has come to an end. For example, THE WASHINGTON POST has written: "One of the most important results of the new relations between the United States and the USSR is the fact that the cold war, which has been enormously costly to both states in economic terms, has ended." Without analyzing this conclusion, one might add—and not only in economic terms.

Some people are saying now that the end of the cold war began to be clearly glimpsed after M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech, which met with a worldwide response; while others

claim that the decisive breakthrough took place at the summit meeting off the coast of Malta. But Z. Brzezinski, former national security adviser to the U.S. president, claimed only recently that "the day the cold war ends will be known when the date for removing the Berlin Wall is firmly set." Not only has the date been set—the wall has collapsed. I do not know what Mr. Brzezinski would say now.

Assessing the talks with the Soviet leader in Malta, President G. Bush stated: "I think this meeting was an important step along the path to mutual understanding and to attempts to remove any remaining barriers erected because of the cold war. There is no doubt that today the conditions are very different from what they were when the cold war was at its height. There is no doubt of that."

Indeed, virtually no one has any doubts in this respect, because facts are not only stubborn, they are often very visible. One cannot fail to see that the new political thinking is becoming established ever more firmly in international relations, and that the climate of confidence is gaining strength and the first—but extremely important—steps have been taken along the path of disarmament. One cannot fail to observe that it has simply become easier to breathe. And it is to that end, in fact, that redoubled attempts to achieve mutual accords are being made. But it must also be taken into account that by no means all the mines laid on the cold war battlefields have been cleared away. From time to time they still explode.

At one news conference a journalist asked Bush about the problems of foreign trade at a time when the United States is "winning" the cold war. The President explained in detail the administration's view of the development of trade exchanges, ignoring the assertion about Washington's "victory." Well, the White House incumbent has every right to avoid commenting if he considers that necessary. Just as we have the right to draw attention to this.

If anyone has a desire to declare his own victory and his adversary's defeat, this path is not only an impasse and futile, it is actually dangerous to the growing climate of confidence and cooperation. This approach to assessing the development of the world process is nothing but another recurrence of the cold war.

And if there is no celebratory salute and no fireworks, still less will either side sign an act of capitulation. If countries renounce the methods and spirit of the cold war in their relations, if that period remains a distressing and senseless period in modern history when ideological arguments and political ambitions, rather than panhuman values, came to the fore—then no one will lose from this, no one will surrender; everyone will gain.

'Politicization' of Warsaw Pact Viewed

LD2601151790 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Commentary by Mikhail Monin]

[Text] At the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization [WTO] countries in Bucharest, the idea of changing this organization from a military-political association into political-military one was proposed for the first time. Mikhail Gorbachev put it forward. Our commentator Mikhail Monin wrote in this connection:

The politicization of our association must begin with the reduction within sensible limits of its military activity and by overriding advancement of its non-military, civil directions. What will be the advantages of this?

First, the possibility to establish a continuous constructive dialogue between the WTO and NATO will be created.

Second, it will help to implement a new concept of security which is based on a continuous reduction of military confrontation and weapons up to the complete eradication of the danger of war.

Third, it will reinforce confidence among European states and contribute to the expansion of cooperation in science, technology, economy, ecology, and in the area of humanitarian issues, including human rights.

Fourth, the more political the WTO and NATO become, the greater the chance of success for the Vienna talks on conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe.

I would like to emphasize in this connection, says our observer, that the partners in the WTO put forward key proposals in the Austrian capital about the reduction of armed forces deployed outside their territories, about control, about exchanging information, and other topics. There has been no answer yet from the NATO representatives. The NATO states, however, have already reduced their military potential in keeping with their own defense doctrine. The USSR also has been reducing its military presence in the allied East European countries accordingly, in a planned manner.

I would like to stress that some officials who have been observing the events in these countries have been speaking openly about their hopes that the WTO will break up. However, they are not justified. The new leaderships of all the East European countries that are WTO members have confirmed their determination to continue to adhere to the obligations that follow from this membership. A treaty cannot be unilaterally broken today. It must be emphasized that they keep recommending to their NATO partners not to hurry with the politicization of the association,and yet it is claimed that NATO allegedly has a purely political character anyhow. This is not correct. NATO is primarily a military bloc, which was created for a purpose for which the force of military treaties is to be used.

Yet, regardless of all fluctuation, relapses to the past, and the complicated character of the situation, humanity is moving away from the cold war. The danger of nuclear war has weakened considerably, although it is still not removed completely. The political dialogue between the NATO and

WTO has grown. A good example is the visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister, to the NATO center in Brussels. In Vienna between 16 January and 6 February a seminar is being held for the representatives of the two military blocs. Its topic: the assessment of military doctrines. This is also happening for the first time.

There is an exchange of information about the number, structure, and placement of their armed forces between the NATO and WTO countries. Today the transformation of the two military associations from military-political into political-military can take place only in parallel. If the transformations were unilateral, they would lead to the violation of strategic parity, says General Monin. So far, people who do not like the idea of politicization of the association still have great influence in NATO but I am deeply convinced that time is working against them.

Reservations About New European Bank

PM2601153390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko article: "What Should New Bank Be Like?"]

[Text] Paris—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for Eastern Europe [EBRD] is the first common institution on our continent in which all European countries will participate on an equal basis for the financing of major projects.

It will provide experience in the transition from the centralized economy to a market economy and may play the kind of role in building the common European home that the European Coal and Steel Community once played in the formation of the EEC. The bank will provide credit for the creation of a communications network which will reduce distances between the two parts of Europe. It is this network which will determine the irreversibility of the rapprochement between East and West. It is thanks to common institutions of this kind that the creation of a single economic and cultural "European space" will gradually begin.

That is how the EBRD's role is depicted by Jacques Attali, special adviser to the French president, who devoted several pages to it in his recently published book "On the Horizon."

J. Attali also expounded this concept at a meeting which he chaired in Paris for the purpose of setting up the EBRD. To some extent he was looking to the future. Right now, however, President Mitterrand noted at the meeting, the new bank will be of exceptionally great importance for all Europe. It will lay the foundation for the first common structures in whose creation it is necessary not only to use the West's existing experience but also to generate new ideas in view of the rapid development of events in the socialist states, the French president stressed.

The Paris conference, in which 34 Eastern and Western countries took part, saw the first exchange of opinions and the achievement of a general agreement on certain principles relating to the EBRD's formation. It is open to all countries and its capital will be 10 billion European Currency Units. All the details are set out in the 56-point draft agreement.

"In the Soviet delegation's opinion, the draft needs considerable additional work," V.A. Pekshev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Bank, said in conversation with me. "Of course, if the West believes that in the first stage of the bank's activity it is necessary to give the socialist countries considerable help, we won't object. But we believe that the bank should be an instrument for general European economic integration and not a political organization. At the moment the proposed document, for all its merits, suffers, we think, from a surfeit of ideologization and politicization."

Indeed, a number of Western countries, in particular the United States, are emphasizing the point that the EBRD should promote the development of private enterprise alone. Others favor linking the granting of credits to party pluralism and the holding of free elections. However, P. Beregovoy, French minister of the economy, finance, and budget, stated that help should not be bound up with conditions.

At the Paris conference everyone agreed that 53 percent of the EBRD's capital will belong to the EEC. It is proposed that the major countries, including the Soviet Union, contribute 8.5 percent each. But there are a number of points which our delegation doesn't like.

"We are seen as a lender rather than a borrower," V.A. Pekshev said. "Some want to refuse us the right to take credits. We, of course, cannot accept that. We want equal rights and obligations."

There is at the moment a certain distance between the bright prospects outlined by J. Attali and the prosaic financial reality, and that is quite understandable.

What will happen next? How is progress to be made toward the planned goal—the "horizon" in question? France, supported by other states, is pressing for rapid and resolute action. The EBRD, Paris believes, should begin work this year.

Three expert working parties, in which the Soviet Union is also represented, have been set up to resolve all the disputed questions. They will meet in the French capital 30 January.

Paris is in a hurry, reminding the partners of the simple truth that "time is money." Particularly so for a bank.

United States & Canada

Dubinin Holds News Conference on Transcaucasus

LD3001063590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0430 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Washington, 30 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan was the main topic at a press conference held by Yu.V. Dubinin, ambassador of the USSR to the United States, today, Monday, in the U.S. capital. Explaining the reasons for the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium's adoption of the decision to impose a state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh and a number of other rayons in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and also to send troops into Baku, he stressed: This was caused by the fact that, despite active efforts taken by the Soviet leadership aimed at resolving the interethnic conflict politically, the situation began to turn dramatic. The use of military force was required to restore law and order, to ensure the safety of the local population, and to defend the constitutions of the USSR and of these republics.

The conflict which has erupted in Transcaucasia is based on long- standing interethnic contradictions, and not on religious causes or those relating to world outlook, Yu.V. Dubinin stressed. The despatch of troops was, in turn, carried out not in order to solve any political tasks relating to the repression of dissent, as some people are trying to infer, but solely to stop the bloodshed, give people back their peace, and provide the population of both republics with the opportunity to develop and build their future in democratic conditions.

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia at the moment remains difficult, the Soviet ambassador noted. However, due to the measures taken, signs are appearing of an improvement in the situation.

Replying to questions about the prospects for a settlement in Afghanistan, Yu.V. Dubinin stressed that President Najibullah's initiative on calling a shura in Kabul with the participation of all Afghan political forces both within the country and outside it, opens up broad opportunities for getting an inter-Afghan dialogue started, for a search for compromises, and for the adoption of constructive decisions.

Yu.V. dubinin also answered other questions from journalists.

Radio Liberty Coverage of Baku Events Hit

PM2601160990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

["Observer" article under rubric "No Holding Misinformers": ' Making Situation More Heated"]

[Text] Radio Liberty has made it a rule to begin its broadcasts with pathetic words about how it works in the interests of information exchange and mutual understanding between peoples. But what on earth is to be gained by the reports which this station began to broadcast from early morning on Saturday? These reports have only one aim: to disorientate and misinform Soviet people, fuel nationalist passions, blatantly incite people, and whip up a hysterical propaganda campaign around the events in Baku.

Both choices of interviews from the scene of events—interviews are taken solely from militants and the commanders of the so-called "defense committees"—and the commentaries by editorial staff clearly aim to resolve one task. That task is: to compromise the decision to introduce a state of emergency and present the matter in such a way as to suggest that there was not the slightest reason to send army subunits into Baku.

It is useless appealing to Radio Liberty's conscience. It is even more useless appealing to the professional journalist ethics of some of its staff. But Radio Liberty does not exist in its own right. Its leaders constantly stress that they have long been subordinate to the U.S. Congress and not the CIA.

There is no doubt that Radio Liberty is excellently informed—as are the people who advise it as to what it should broadcast and how—with regard to who began the bloodshed and what kind of tragic chain reaction it could have. They know all this and are doing everything to make the situation even more heated than it already is and to try not only to destabilize the Transcaucasus, but also to direct the fire against Moscow.

Before urging others to be restrained and civilized, it certainly would not go amiss to ensure that decency, a sense of moderation, and common sense at least are observed in our own information work in order to avoid a return to the times of psychological warfare on the air and in the press, and to ensure that the information disseminated is conducive to mutual understanding between peoples rather than destabilization, both international and internal, in any state.

Ivanov Comments on Gates' Visit to Manila

OW2901183790 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Ivanov commentary: "On Eve of Talks"]

[Text] Gates, deputy assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, recently visited the Philippines and met with Philippine President Aquino and National Defense Minister Ramos. Washington officially announced that Gates' visit had nothing to do with the issue of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, but that he was sent to assure Philippine leaders of the steadfast support of the United States. However, how could he possibly skip the issue of the U.S. military presence there given the scheduled March or April talks between the two countries on the bases issue, and particularly at a time of evidently intensifying anti-U.S. and anti-base sentiments in the Philippines?

I believe that his visit and the U.S. promise to extend economic and military aid to the Philippines were intended to offset the negative effects of the recent coup in the Philippines and to soften Manila's position during the forthcoming bases talks. Newspapers in the Philippines and other ASEAN nations pointed out that the United States took part in the coup against President Aquino in December 1989. Facts prove that the United States was aware of the plot. All the United States had to do to prevent the coup was to tip off the Philippine Government, but it did not. Why?

Manila's press circles believe that the United States was attempting to intimidate Aquino so that she would make more concessions over the bases issue. Such a view makes sense, and the facts cannot be changed by Washington's subsequent quick response to the Philippine Government's appeal for help in suppressing the coup. Later, the United States reiterated that the Aquino Administration would find it difficult to remain in power wthout U.S. support. Naturally, the United States is expecting some reward for the support it extended.

The Philippine media exposed another fact recently that hurts the U.S. reputation; namely, the United States has not fulfilled its obligations according to the 1988 agreement on increasing the rent for the land on which the military bases stand. The United States has paid only part of the promised rent, even though these payments are the main justification put forward by the Filippino supporters of the U.S. military presence there.

27 Jan Papers Report President-Congress Clash

PRAVDA Dispatch

PM2901135590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Are Battles Inevitable? White House and Capitol on Wave of Disagreements"]

[Text] Washington, 26 Jan—It came as no surprise. Even people within the administration expected this outcome and, to the irritation of the White House, their expectations were justified. The U.S. Congress House of Representatives recently voted by 390 to 25 votes to reject the presidential veto on the bill planning to extend for 4 years the visas of Chinese students studying here. Although the Senate ultimately supported the veto, this is the first conflict between the White House and the Capitol in the present session.

This bill was adopted by Congress last year in the wake of the clashes between the authorities and young people on Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Condemning the PRC authorities' actions as repressive, the United States introduced a series of sanctions which seriously complicated U.S.-Chinese relations. At the end of the year, however, Washington sent B. Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser, to Beijing with instructions "to break the ice" and help normalize contacts in an attempt to find a way out of the diplomatic deadlock. The atmosphere of secrecy surrounding this trip and the actual fact that it took place provoked a wave of protest on Capitol Hill, where it was seen as "kowtowing to Beijing."

Many seeds of potential conflicts between the White House and Congress have already been sown. The unusually brisk start to the second session of the 101st Congress shows that Democrat leaders are in a hurry to seize the initiative and act according to their own idea of national priorities rather than follow White House instructions. The reason is obvious—when they began their work on Tuesday, congressman firmly kept in mind the fact that 41 weeks later the midterm elections would be held when all 435 members of the House of Representatives and 34 senators will be reelected. In order to retain their control over Congress the Democrats must present the voters with attractive alternatives.

The session is expected to be marked by sharp clashes over the size of Pentagon cuts, the use of funds therefrom for social programs, and the consequences for arms control strategy. The bill submitted by Congressman T. Weiss (a Democrat from New York State) regarding the creation of compulsory commissions on economic conversion at U.S. military plants and bases may be considered the forerunner of the impending skirmishes.

To a certain extent Democrats' tasks are complicated by the fact that at this moment Bush is popular among Americans, of whom approximately 80 percent support his activity as president—the highest figure since the time of J. Kennedy. Although you can often hear it said on Capitol Hill that he was guaranteed this popularity by the Panamanian invasion with its effect of "rallying people to the flag," while the people are critical of domestic policy issue, such talk is seen as complacency.

...The day before Congress resumed its work, one newspaper compared the legislators with vacationers who, on their return home, have discovered that all the furniture has been rearranged in their absence. Quite an appropriate image. Over the vacation many changes have indeed taken place in the world. How are those on whom the country's course depends adapting to them?

IZVESTIYA Dispatch

PM2901134590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "United States-PRC: Students and Sanctions"]

[Text] Washington—At last Thursday's White House press conference, U.S. President G. Bush expressed satisfaction at the outcome of his first confrontation with Congress this year. An attempt by influential Congress circles to adopt a further resolution prolonging the sojourn in the United States of Chinese students studying at U.S. universities was frustrated.

The resolution should have legislatively put an end to one of the sanctions against the PRC proclaimed by Bush himself hot on the heels of last June's events on Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Then, citing the "threat to the safety" of Chinese citizens if they returned home, Bush ordered their stay in the United States to be extended. At the same time the President opposed legislative steps by Congress in this sphere and vetoed a corresponding Congress resolution.

During the repeat vote in the House of Representatives supporters of this resolution gathered more than the two-thirds majority needed to overturn the presidential veto. However, they failed in the Senate. The resolution did not get through. What about the sanctions? They remained in force. Bush confirmed that U.S. immigration services are empowered to meet Chinese students' requests for their U.S. visas to be extended. The dispute between the White House and the Capitol concerned only the question of presidential prerogatives.

The U.S. press notes that more than 40,000 students and scientific workers from the PRC are studying in the United States—more than in any other country. No less than 30,000 of them were dispatched there by the Chinese authorities. The agreements regarding the training of Chinese cadres in the United States envisage that the specialists will return to the PRC, but this understanding was unilaterally revoked by the U.S. authorities.

The PRC Government has frequently protested at Washington's actions. It was stressed that returning Chinese specialists will be guaranteed safety and work in line with their qualifications. However, these protests and explanations had no impact.

How many Chinese students want to take the opportunity to stay on in the United States? American newspapers show that active participants in the protest demonstrations outside Chinese overseas establishments are worried about possible punishment. Others are disoriented by the hullabaloo over Washington's sanctions. All this, the U.S. press believes, may mean that PRC enterprises and scientific establishments fail to receive the cadres which they have trained abroad at great cost to themselves.

Bessmertnykh, Matlock Exchange Views on Ties

LD2601220590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 January (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, today received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

There was an exchange of views on a number of issues relating to Soviet-U.S. relations. They also considered matters connected with the preparations for the coming official visit to the USSR in February of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

U.S. Withdrawal of Minesweepers From Gulf Noted

LD2601181990 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Washington January 26 TASS—An official spokesman of the U.S. Defence Department said here that the American Command has decided to withdraw the three last American minesweepers from the Persian Gulf. They will return to their permanent mooring places on the western coast of the United States.

The spokesman noted that this withdrawal was possible since not a single mine was found in the Gulf during the past 18 months. Therefore, there was no further need of them remaining in the region.

However, the Pentagon spokesman stressed, the withdrawal of these U.S. warships "does not mean at all that American commitments concerning this region are being curtailed". He said the United States continued to convoy oil tankers flying the American flag through the Persian Gulf. He also emphasised that unobstructed transporation of petroleum through the Strait of Hormuz and observance of the free navigation principle were vitally important for the United States which continued to support its friends and allies in the region.

The spokesman refused to indicate the number of American warships deployed in the Persian Gulf. He only said that there were now 20 U.S. warships in the Indian Ocean "operational area", including a task aircraft carrier force, which includes the aircraft carrier "Enterprise" and her escort ships.

Soviet-U.S. Military 'Meeting-Dialogue' Ends

LD2601224190 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By TASS correspondents Leonid Timofeyev and Sergey Postanogov:

The meeting-dialogue between Soviet and American military men drew to a close in Petrovo-Dalneye near Moscow today. The topic of the dialogue was "Soviet-American Strategic Balance: Tendencies of Changes".

"We did not set the goal to solve all problems faced by us," Admiral Nikolay Amelko, former deputy chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, who attended the meeting, told TASS. "We found, however, what issues generate concern to both sides, formed a good contact and laid down the groundwork for its development."

Admiral Amelko said that he and U.S. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt had known each other for many years but it was only now that they got an opportunity to meet each other and discuss the role of navies in modern armed forces, the more so that this aspect has not been the topic of negotiations as yet.

"The talks revealed differing aproaches. Nevertheless, the sides have formed the basis for a subsequent discussion during which they can find ways to dispel mutual mistrust at seas and oceans," Amelko stressed.

"This meeting has met my expectations. We discussed strategic balance and the two countries' policy in the field of security," William van Cleave, a leading researcher at Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, told a news conference held upon the completion of the meeting.

The American side heard with great interest the report on the essence of the Soviet military doctrine. The U.S. delegation believes that the European continent is at the state of dynamic instability. This is why all opportunities should be used to achieve mutual understanding.

Evaluating the results of the meeting, Josef Churba, president of the International Security Council Organisation, said: "Our dialogue is only the beginning of the process which needs to be controlled and pushed forward. The stakes are very high and we will do everything to promote mutual understanding in the search for a better world."

Lieutenant-General Viktor Starodubov, a co-chairman of the meeting, emphasised the same idea. He said that, possibly, each of the sides remained to be standing on its own opinion, but, nevertheless, they found common ground on many problems under discussion. "The very fact of the dialogue demonstrates that Soviet and American military men are aspiring for mutual understanding and continued peace policy."

Touching on the content of the Soviet military doctrine, Starodubov underlined its defensive nature. He said it contained the proposals that call for renouncing the first issue of nuclear weapons and shifting from the principle of over-armament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Speakers at the meeting stressed that many of its participants have already retired but continued a vigorous political activity and statesmen pay heed to the opinion of authoritative military men. The American delegation intends to acquaint U.S. Administration officials with the results of the discussions in Petrovo-Dalneye and to organise television debates with the public.

"The materials of the dialogue will be thoroughly analysed in Moscow and its results will be brought to the knowledge of Soviet foreign policy agencies," Starodubov said.

Public Protests Cruise Missile Test in Canada

PM2601150090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Shelkov report: "Test Over Canada"]

[Text] Ottawa, 25 Jan—The latest, 14th test of an American cruise missile has taken place in the sky over Canada.

The missile was delivered to Canada's Arctic latitudes from a long way away—from a USAF base in Texas. A B-52 bomber launched it from under its wing over the icy wastes of the Beaufort Sea, and the missile went over to its automatic flight system. This flight lasted nearly 4 hours, and ended near the border between the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan at the Primrose military testing range. Canadian and American military aircraft escorted the missile on its route. Or rather, this was not merely an escort, but air maneuvers to rehearse operations during the use of cruise missiles.

Tests of American weapons in Canada take place on the basis of an agreement between Ottawa and Washington, which was concluded in 1983 and extended in 1988 for another 5 years. It allows the United States to carry out up to eight cruise missile tests annually, in the period from January through March, in northern Canada, where the landscape is reminiscent of a number of territories in the Soviet Union.

Every year the missiles' flights are accompanied by protests from the Canadian public. Nor was this test an exception. A group of demonstrators gathered on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. They held a rally outside the walls of the Alberta Province legislative assembly, demanding that the Canadian sky be closed to tests of new U.S. weapons in the light of the thaw in East-West relations.

China

'Cooling Off' of Soviet-Chinese Ties Discounted

OW2601195490 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] A few days ago, the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE carried an article on Soviet-Chinese relations that tried to prove that these have been cooling off gradually. In this connection, our station commentator Nikolayev writes:

Similar views also can be found in other newspapers and journals in the West. Do these assessments have any foundation at all? Let us now clarify this issue.

Everyone knows that the two countries have had frequent contacts in all fields since the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting more than 8 months ago. It is correct to say that the two sides have not implemented the specific agreements reached in Beijing hastily. For example, while we have endeavored to put an end to the military confrontation between the two countries, we have not exerted the same efforts in promoting cooperation in the economic and trade spheres. Both sides have expressed satisfaction over the current development of ties

between the two parties and parliaments. This was pointed out by the Soviet deputy foreign minister during his recent visit to China.

The two countries are still working hard to prepare for Chinese Premier Li Peng's visit to the USSR, even though this does not mean that bilateral relations are developing smoothly and quickly without obstruction. The two countries' summit meeting shows that relations between the two countries have been normalized fully. That meeting also laid down a dependable cornerstone for building a new type of bilateral relationship. The pattern of today's Soviet-Chinese relations is no longer similar to that of the 1950's. The relations between us now are those between equal partners, not like those between a teacher and a student, or those between an older brother and a younger brother.

It is very important to note that Soviet and Chinese leaders no longer maintain that their views are the supreme truth. They realize that each country has its own special interests, and they are willing to respect the views of the other side.

We should know that one's stand can change. Today, the Soviet Union and China share many identical views toward their socialist construction, but they may not share so many identical views tomorrow. The Soviet Union and China agree that this should not affect the nature of their mutual relations. In my view, therefore, the assessment that current Soviet-Chinese relations are gloomy reflects the mentality of those who have mistaken their wishful thinking for reality. Past dogmas are still deep-rooted in the minds of those who continue to believe that close Soviet-Chinese relations constitute a threat to other countries. This is an incorrect view, of course.

Differences of views between leaders of countries is nothing to fear. A diversity of views will not obstruct progress, including the development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Youth Contacts Develop Along PRC Border

OW2801121890 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Jan 90

[From "Program for Chinese Youths"]

[Text] The following is a remark made by (Glenev), a section chief of the International Department of the All-Union Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee, in answer to a reporter's question on the development of youth contacts along the Soviet-Chinese border:

[(Glenev) is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have the longest borderline in the world. We are pleased to point out that this borderline has now become one of peace, friendship, and cooperation. The development of contacts between the youths of the two countries has also contributed to this situation. Today, Soviet Komsomol committees in various localities bordering on China are developing direct contacts with the counterpart provincial and city committees of the Communist Youth League [CYL] on the Chinese side.

The past few years have seen a change in the attitude of both the Chinese Communist Party and the All-Union Komsomol toward the development of international youth contacts. The policy toward the neighboring country has replaced the strict restriction that the central authorities previously imposed on activities in this field. Now, a wide range of authority has been delegated to local Komsomol organizations. The forms of cooperation have become diversified, and its scope is being expanded. Now, such cooperation has developed far beyond the scope of exchange of tourist groups.

[(Glenev) is again heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] He continued: According to information on hand, the Komsomol Committee of Khabarovsk Kray is establishing good work contacts with the youth organization of China's Heilongjiang Province. The Irkutsk Oblast Committee of the All-Union Komsomol and China's Shenyang Municipal CYL Committee and Liaoning Provinical CYL Committee have established contacts. Youths of the Soviet socialist republics in Central Asia have shown great interest in developing contacts with youth organizations in China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Now, work has begun on a series of joint projects. Here, I wish to cite only a few specific examples. Based on the agreement signed between the youth tourist organizations of Khabarovsk Kray and Heilongjiang Province, work has begun on the construction of a hotel in the city of Khabarovsk, which, according to the plan, will be used as a facility to receive young tourists from China. A significant construction project is being completed on the Pacific coast that is being undertaken by the China Construction Corporation. The project is the renovation of a summer camp called Ocean for the All-Union Young Pioneers. In the near future, students from China will take recreation here together with Soviet children. Young inventors and scientists of Irkustk Oblast and China's Liaoning Province have held several meetings to discuss the development of contacts between the youth science and technology centers of the two countries. Besides, athletic and sports contacts are developing satisfactorily. Chinese martial art experts have given demonstrations in some cities in the Far East part of the Soviet Union, while various athletic teams from the two countries have held friendly contests.

I wish to point out that in addition to the All-Union Komsomol, unofficial youth organizations are conducting cooperation with China. These unofficial youth organizations include political, cultural, and sports organizations. We feel this is a good phenomenon, as it indicates that our bilateral contacts are becoming increasingly democratic. It is my belief that the broad-ranging dialogues between the young people of our two

countries will help enhance the mutual understanding and strengthen the friendship between the two countries and the two peoples.

PRC 'Do Good Deeds' Movement Reported

PM2601121190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties With People"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Jan—"Go out among the lower strata, go out into the masses, go out into reality." This is how RENMIN RIBAO appealed to all the Chinese ganbu, that is, employees of the country's party administration apparatus.

On the eve of the traditional eastern New Year festival, according to the lunar calendar, the PRC mass media are illuminating the nationwide movement taking place under the slogan "Do Good Deeds." It is now embracing many leading establishments and social organizations, the army, and security organs. Newspapers are printing photographs of generals and colonels sweeping the square outside the station and policemen cutting the hair of the residents of an old people's home and washing their clothes.

"We did not see you for so many years, but today you have finally come to us," the CPC Central Committee organ cites a poor inhabitant of a hamlet in Fujian Province. With these words, the newspaper writes, he met the leadership that was "going out among the people." It turns out that the province party committee took a special decision on strengthening ties with the masses in line with which more than 100,000 regular employees went "to the people" in order to "eat, live, and work together with the peasants." In the town of Fuzhou, 700 ganbu visited factories, streets, and the inhabitants' homes. Several hundred leaders at province and district level have settled in villages "to study the conditions."

Other provinces are not lagging behind Fujian. Thus, according to press reports, in Shanxi, 1,000 staffers of directly subordinate party organs are now ready to set off for rural areas to give assistance in the localities.

Japan's 21-Article Demand on China Recalled

OW2901124990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Ruben commentary from "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Summary from poor reception] Seventy-five years ago, on 18 January 1915, Japan gave China a humiliating ultimatum—the so-called 21-article demand. Our station observer Ruben has written the following commentary on this:

In the wake of World World I, imperialist powers increased pressure on China in order to exploit the Chinese manpower and material resources to serve their own interests. In particular, Japan made striking efforts in this regard. Taking advantage of the situation that had appeared in the Far East, Japan began to contend for sphere of influence in China. In early 1914 Japan occupied China's Shandong Province, but the Japanese militarist action did not stop there.

"On 18 January 1915, Japan presented a 21-article demand to the Chinese Government. This was, in effect, a wide-scale expansionist program to be carried out in China."

The 21-article demand, contained in a note, was forwarded by the Japanese representative directly to then Chinese President Yuan Shikai. "At first, the Chinese Government pinned hopes on support from Britain and the United States. But all these hopes proved of no avail." Finally, the Chinese Government gave way and accepted the 21-article demand.

"After imposing its will on China in this instance, the Japanese imperialists went all out to step up their aggression. In the ensuing years, Japan always regarded the conquering of China as one of its main policies." Facts during the 1930's to 1940's proved that China indeed became the first victim of Japan's aggressive policy in Asia.

"It was due to the Chinese people's heroic and indomitable resistance, and the Soviet moral support and military assistance to China that the Japanese militarist plan to conquer and enslave China was finally smashed."

Northeast Asia

Dissolution of Japanese Lower House Reported

OW2701215490 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The Moscow newspaper IZVESTIYA carried an article by Tokyo correspondent Agafonov on the dissolution of the Japanese House of Representatives.

Correspondent Agafonov described as unexpected the decision by the leadership of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], in which factional leaders occupy important positions, not to give the prime minister the right to deliver his policy speech, which they viewed as useless, before the House of Representatives was dissolved. Correspondent Agafonov notes that this is the first time such a thing has happened since the war. He goes on to say that the House of Representatives election will be characterized by contests among individual candidates, not among political parties, and that success or defeat in the elections will be determined by financial help and other material factors.

Leaders of the business community have already manifested their support for the LDP by making 13 billion yen available in political funds. However, it is believed

that the upcoming general elections will settle the question of whether such political funds play a decisive role in elections.

Japan Socialist Party Proposes Draft Budget

OW2801140790 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] According to a TASS report from Tokyo, the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] has made public a counterproposal to a national budget plan for fiscal year 1990. The JSP's draft budget calls for freezing defense spending, abolishing the so-called 3-percent consumption tax which was introduced last spring under pressure from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, and raising the level of food self-sufficiency.

The JSP-proposed draft budget also calls for the implementation of a phased intermediate-term plan for demilitarizing Asia and an economic policy for narrowing the gap in living standard among people of various strata in Japan.

The JSP proposes that funds raised from increased taxes on land transactions by big landlords and from a redistribution of other funds be used for the implementation of social programs.

Tokyo Moots Another Consultation in Beijing

OW2801084290 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo has announced that representatives of the Japanese and Chinese Foreign Ministries may hold another consultation in Beijing in March this year. The Japanese side will be represented by Deputy Vice Foreign Minister Owada, while the Chinese side by Vice Foreign Minister [title as heard] Xu Dunxin. It is expected that the two sides will resume bilateral contacts at the ministerial level. As is known, Japan has unilaterally suspended high-level contacts with China after last year's 4 June incident in Beijing.

In the March consultation, the two sides will discuss the Cambodian issue, the situation on the Korean peninsula, and issues of mutual concern. According to a Japanese Foreign Ministry representative, the two sides will also discuss the resumption of Jaŗan's assistance to China.

Cooperation With ROK in Shipping Discussed

SK2801012190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 20 Jan 90

[From "Businessmen's Club" program]

[Text] [Unidentified station announcer] The ROK is emerging as a new business partner in our country. The initial contact between the Soviet Union and the ROK was limited to [words indistinct] and the commerce treaty. However, the contact has shown a possibility for new development. Some large enterprises in our country have formed direct relations with South Korean companies, which include the Far East Maritime Shipping Company, one of the larger shipping companies in the Soviet Union. Today, (Igor Ichidrov), director of the (?External Economic Liaison Department) of this shipping company, is with us.

[Begin (Ichidrov) recording, with superimposed Korean] [passage indistinct] Ship repairs are an important part of our cooperation. Because expenses for ship repairs at Hyundai Mipo Dockyard, a South Korean company, are lower than those of Japanese companies, cooperation with this company is [words indistinct]. Approximately 30 of our company ships have been repaired. A contract for modernizing five freighters has been signed. They include [words indistinct]. Ships of the Far East Shipping Company transport cargoes between (?Vostochnyy) and Nakhodka, Soviet ports, Pusan, Inchon, and Pohang. South Korean container ships and short-distance freighters pay port calls at Nakhodka port. [end recording]

[Unidentified station announcer] Are joint ventures with ROK enterprises being planned?

[Begin (Ichidrov) recording, with superimposed Korean] Progress has been made on this issue. We are very interested in using the ROK's advanced ship repair technology. The talks with the representatives of Hyundai Mipo Dockyard are aimed at discussing the selection of the (Togangahamoman) Shipbuilding Company to establish a joint venture. [passage indistinct] We are also planning to open a container transportation route between Nakhodka and Pusan. This route will be serviced by the container ships of both countries. It is still too early to tell how soon cooperation between us will develop. This is because the ROK is a new partner to us, and because we are still at the stage of getting to know each other. The next step must be to exchange representative offices. This will help solve problems that will be presented, and will also normalize our relations. This issue is now being (?discussed) on a ship off the Soviet coast. [end recording]

(Igor Ichiharov), director of the (?External Economic Liaison Department) of the Far East Maritime Shipping Company, concluded his remarks by saying: I expect that this (?discussion) will provide a fundamental solution.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Lukyanov Receives Cambodian Envoy's Credentials

PM2901150590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] On 26 January, Bo Rasi, Cambodian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented her credentials in the Kremlin to A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Bo Rasi said that the firm bonds of all-around cooperation between Cambodia and the Soviet Union are steadily growing in strength and being enriched with new substance, in line with the processes taking place in both countries.

Receiving her credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, A.I. Lukyanov noted the progressive, dynamic nature of the development of Soviet-Cambodian relations. He stressed that the Soviet Union supports the constructive course followed by the leadership of the State of Cambodia, which aims to achieve national reconciliation and a solution to the Cambodian conflict by political means. Of particularly important significance are Cambodia's recent new proposals, which open up possibilities for taking the settlement into its final stage. Soviet people have always stood, and continue to stand, on the side of the fraternal Cambodian people's righteous cause in their just struggle.

After the credentials had been presented, a friendly conversation took place between A.I. Lukyanov and Bo Rasi.

Commentaries View Paris Meeting on Cambodia

Vinogradov in IZVESTIYA

PM2601124590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent B. Vinogradov commentary: "Cambodia: Difficult Dialogues"]

[Text] Hanoi—What did the Paris meeting of representatives of the five UN Security Council permanent members do to help resolve the Cambodian problem? Foreign press commentaries provide varying answers to that question. Some write about a great success, by which they mean that the United Nations has begun to take a direct part in the settlement of this conflict, while others do not hide their disappointment at the "glibness" of some of the phrases in the joint communique and the "lack of clarity" in the sides' positions.

Indeed, if you take into account the fact that the Paris meeting confirmed important provisions on the self-determination of the Cambodian people, the need for a cease-fire and an end to foreign military aid, and the impermissibility of restoring the Pol Pot regime, it must be acknowledged that this round had its positive results. And even though its declarations were universally recognized in advance—meetings at this level are just part of the broad normalization process—the search for a peaceful solution will go on. The next round begins in New York at the end of January.

It would seem that everyone agrees that the plan proposed by Australian Foreign Minister G. Evans could serve as a basis here. Nevertheless, it is noted unanimously that this plan "offers a great many options, to say the least." There is a long stage of agreements and coordination ahead before a more or less precise formula emerges.

That was why the representatives of a number of Asian and Pacific countries recently made a series of attempts to re-establish and clarify the intentions both of the Cambodian sides and of the states wishing to take part in the next informal meeting in Jakarta scheduled for February. No one doubts that there are difficult dialogues ahead for its participants, particularly the main ones—the four Cambodian sides. After all, the future course of events depends on them. Their readiness for compromise will also determine the effectiveness of international efforts. At the moment they all seem to accept the Evans plan, which gives preference to the United Nations as observer of the situation in Cambodia and the holding of free elections.

By all accounts, the most heated debates will be on the terms of the cease-fire and the question of what to do in the transitional period. An important factor here is the general acceptance of the quadripartite principle in the work of the provisional organ of power—the Supreme National Council. The task is to fully define the role and place of the Khmer Rouge, the largest force in the opposition that is still supported by China. The proposal is to develop the kind of mechanism which would preclude the restoration of the genocidal regime, and at the same time allow the Khmer Rouge to take part in free elections.

At the same time, as the Paris meeting's communique indicates, during the transitional period the United Nations should supervise the establishment of conditions which would ensure that no side can pressure another or gain advantages in the runup to the elections. In this regard approval has been expressed for the constructive stand taken by the State of Cambodia, which has again shown good will and a readiness for national reconciliation. The newspapers rate highly Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen's agreement to the creation of the Supreme Council and call it a "qualitatively new factor on the path to stabilization."

After a French statement condemning the inconsistency of Norodom Sihanouk, who, incidentally, was previously destined for the role of head of the Supreme Council, observers have begun asking reasonably what role the former prince will now play and what relationship he will now have with Hun Sen, who has deprived him of Western support, AFP notes. Sihanouk, the agency goes on, "can hardly expect his adversary to be compliant in the future, and the gamble on inflaming war in alliance with Pol Pot will not win him any laurels." Even though events show that the opposition still hopes to use a "victory on the battlefield" to win new concessions from Phnom Penh, and seize part of Cambodia in order to dictate its terms.

Shatrov on Moscow International

OW2901102690 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 21 Jan 90

[By station commentator Shatrov]

[Text] Dear listeners: United Nations Secretary General De Cuellar supported the resolutions on the Cambodia issue adopted by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council at the Paris meeting. The 16 resolutions adopted by the meeting are based on the Australian proposal to place Cambodia under the trusteeship of the United Nations before new elections are held.

Our state commentator Shatrov argued that, morally speaking, the 16 resolutions of the Paris meeting are of great significance. They stipulated that the conflict must be truly resolved, the various factions must stop fighting, and all military aid from the outside must cease.

However, I think it is still too early to speak about the actual result of the resolutions adopted by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. There is still a series of serious obstacles that must be overcome before they can be realized. For example, the 16 resolutions ignored the precondition raised by Phnom Penh of leaving vacant the seat of Cambodia at the United Nations. On the other hand, the Khmer opposition factions insist on dissolving the new government in Phnom Penh. The 16 resolutions did not mention this either.

A (?decision) was not made on the problems arising from the Pol Pot regime, which had committed grave genocidal crimes. These issues can be resolved by the rival factions during the process of negotiation. Because of these, the Paris meeting has great significance. Let us hope that it will provide a new drive for resolving the Cambodia issue.

Alekseyev on Moscow International

BK2901025490 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Station observer Oleg Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference in Phnom Penh, Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the State of Cambodia's Council of Ministers, spelled out the position of his country's government concerning a political solution to the Cambodian problem. On this issue, here are comments by our observer Oleg Alekseyev:

In its essence, the position spelled out by Comrade Hun Sen is a kind of synthesis of various initiatives that have already received wide international support—such as the proposal of Thai Prime Minister Chunhawan on a cease-fire in Cambodia, the Soviet proposal on ending foreign military aid to various Cambodian groups, and the proposal of Australian Prime Minister [as heard] Evans entrusting the United Nations with the task of administering Cambodia in an interim period. Comrade Hun Sen pointed out that the three proposals can become the basis for continuing negotiations among all sides. A new round of talks is being planned for 26 February.

Comrade Hun Sen paid special attention to a proposal dubbed the Evans plan. In putting forward this proposal, the Australian prime minister [as heard] refrained from detailing some key points; he only remarked that UN administration ought to be used in carrying out a number of tasks in the interim period, such as organizing general elections in the country. Recent experiences in Namibia show that this kind of process can really bring fine results, though it is true that another country's experience cannot be automatically transposed to Cambodia. In Namibia, the UN administration was compelled to take upon itself nearly all the administrative tasks because there was no other reasonable proposals. In Cambodia, however, the situation is different.

In Hun Sen's view, two real administrations should be maintained: the government of the State of Cambodia and the one led by Sihanouk. However, the two sides should be willing to hand over some power to the United Nations. In Comrade Hun Sen's view, these two governments should not be involved in carrying out legislative tasks until the general elections. They should instead focus their responsibility on the daily needs of the people and ensure social order.

The head of the Phnom Penh government, Comrade Hun Sen, also proposed the establishment of a National Council made up of representatives of the two governments. This kind of council is worthy of representing Cambodia in the United Nations. This is the most important point because the Cambodian seat in this international organization has to this day been usurped by Sihanouk's government in exile—to be precise, by the Pol Pot group within this government in exile. This kind of situation is certainly not just, particularly in the current circumstance in which the United Nations is involved in solving the Cambodian problem.

Speaking clearly about this UN participation, Comrade Hun Sen stressed that in his government's view, the future of the UN administration should be in overseeing the implementation of a cease-fire agreement, the end of foreign military aid to various Cambodian parties, the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, and the organization of general elections.

There is another key point determining the State of Cambodia's position. Phnom Penh has never recognized the Pol Pot group, and will never do so. However, Phnom Penh is involved with Sihanouk's coalition government. The composition of this government should be left to the conscience of its leaders.

This is what Comrade Hun Sen said in conclusion at the news conference in Phnom Penh.

Idea of Free Economic Zones Discussed

OW2901130590 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 2 Jan 90

[From "USSR Today" program]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union is paying greater attention to developments in East Siberia and the Far Eastern region. We have reported that the Soviet Government adopted resolutions on the establishment of free economic zones in Vyborg and Nakhodka. What are the prospects of establishing free economic zones in Khabarovsk Kray? (Kosto), station reporter based in the Far Eastern part, asked (Mitachir), deputy director of the Economic Research Institute of the Far Eastern Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a doctor of economics, to answer this question.

[(Mitachir) is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading out] (Mitachir) said: We should attribute our idea of establishing the free economic zone to China. We have attentively observed our neighbor's experiences. We can say right away that the results are very good. Analysis of the possibilities in Khabarovsk Kray shows that the Far Eastern part lacks some favorable factors. There are no warm coasts. We have surplus labor like that in China or locations like Hong Kong—the birthplace of free economic zones—that maintains direct contacts with the developed economies.

However, scientists in the Far Eastern part still think it is possible to form this type of economic zone in Khabarovsk Kray based on bilateral cooperation, with China in particular. Following the development in this region, other foreign partners may keep coming. [passage omitted]

In short, the work of establishing free economic zones is now under way and in full swing in Khabarovsk Kray. We believe that it will bear good results.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Representation on Jewish Emigration

LD2901152390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Vorontsov today made a representation to Arie Levin, head of the Israeli consular group in Moscow. He draws attention in it to recent statements by a number of Israeli politicians, even including the head of the government, on the need to retain the conquered Arab lands so that new immigrants, including those from the Soviet Union, can settle there.

This, the representation says, is another confirmation by the Israeli leadership of its policy of annexing occupied Arab territories and refusing to seek compromise solutions of the Near East conflict. Behind this policy of "faits accomplis" can be clearly discerned the expansionist plans to create a "Greater Israel," above all at the expense of the Palestinian people. No less evident is the intention to open another front for crushing the Palestinian intifadah by bringing about a clash of interests between the Palestinian population and the settlers.

The Soviet Union does not conceal its concern over these steps by the Israeli Government, which could strike a serious blow at the cause of peace in the Near East, wreck the process of achieving a settlement, and threaten the security of all the peoples of the region—including that of Israel itself.

There is another aspect of the issue that is also not a matter of indifference to us. USSR legislation is being brought into conformity with international norms, including freedom of entry and exit. But we cannot fail to be uneasy about the fact that a certain proportion of the persons of Jewish nationality who are leaving the USSR will find themselves, having yielded to unscrupulous propaganda, being used as tools for the implementation of unlawful plans being condemned by international public opinion. We are firmly opposed to persons who are leaving the USSR being used, with risk to their security, for the forcible expulsion of Palestinians from the lands which belong to them. The representation stresses that Israeli leadership must realize the dangerous consequences of such actions.

Trade Agreement Signed With Israeli Chamber

PM2601132190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[S. Mushkaterov article: "USSR-Israel: Let Us Trade"]

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between the USSR Chamber of Trade and Commerce and the Israeli Federation of Chambers of Trade was signed in Moscow on 23 January. The document was signed for the Soviet side by V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Commerce Presidium, and for the Israeli side by Dan Hillermann, president of the Federation.

Under the agreement these two public, nongovernmental organizations will very soon set up missions in each other's country. This involves direct and purely economic ties, and naturally this cooperation does not affect the sphere of interstate relations.

The next step after opening missions will be an exchange of business delegations, and then in the summer or fall of this year an exhibition of Israeli goods will be held in the Soviet Union. A similar exhibition of Soviet goods will be organized in Israel in the first half of next year. This program of developing trade relations is perfectly natural: Despite the fact that the two sides have great interest in such ties and there is considerable potential for developing them, commercial circles in the USSR and Israel have a poor idea of each other's market and virtually no experience in conducting business between each other.

But what prospects for commercial and economic ties are opening up as a result of the signing of the agreement and can any examples of such cooperation yet be cited? Your correspondent put this question to V.L. Malkevich and D. Hillermann.

[Malkevich] It would be untrue to say that we already have projects close to completion, since we are only now creating the mechanism making such activity possible. However, there are already several projects at the study stage. For example, in the sphere of land reclamation. On our side there is great interest in the unique method of drip irrigation, which makes it possible for Israel to produce first-rate harvests on what is essentially sand. And such cooperation will undoubtedly be of benefit to us. But that is only a glimpse into the future, no specific agreement has yet been signed. I think that there will very quickly be business under way in such spheres as light industry, the food industry, medicine, and pharmaceuticals. This primarily concerns equipment for these sectors. The nuclear power industry could also be a good area for cooperation.

[Hillermann] Chambers of commerce do not do business, that is done by businessmen, so one should not expect instant results from the signing of the agreement. We think that the agreement between the two chambers will create a mechanism and framework for the two countries' trade communities enabling them to start developing projects in the best possible conditions. It is very important, particularly now, to select the most promising projects so that at least the first ones have a good chance of success. Here it should be borne in mind that Israel may not be in a position to supply the large volumes of goods that the USSR needs, but our country can supply a lot of technology and know-how, and this would enable you to manufacture goods on your own. We have a lot of experience in agriculture, and one may say the same thing about our pharmaceuticals, electronics, navigation equipment, and high technology. At the same time we know that you have had great success in sectors like nuclear power, the manufacture of precision measuring instruments, optical instruments, and other spheres.

On the whole, our countries have great prospects for cooperation and we think that we will be able, thanks to the agreement signed, to implement some of the projects before the year is out.

PRAVDA Report

PM2601095190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The visit to the USSR by a delegation of Israeli businessmen resulted in the signing in Moscow on January 23 of a protocol on the development of trade and economic ties between the two countries' business circles. The document was signed by V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry Presidium, and D. Gillerman, president of the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce. A step has been taken toward direct trade and economic cooperation, which was broken off 23 years ago. This year it is planned to open a USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry mission in Tel Aviv and a Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce mission in Moscow, to organize visits by delegations from the two countries' business circles, and to hold an exhibition of Israeli export goods in Moscow.

Commentary on 'Islamic Factor' in Transcaucasus

90UI0312A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, 24 Jan 90 p 9

[Commentary by Igor Belyayev: "Islam and Politics"]

[Text] During those same days last week that events in our Transcaucasus were reaching a peak, something extraordinary occurred, or so it seems to me. On 17 January Ayatollah Khamene'i issued a statement in Tehran. The spiritual leader Vali-ye Faqih of Iran declared literally:

"The world is today approaching Islam. This is not a slogan, but a reality...."

We have had occasion to hear similar things before from the lips of Imam R. Khomeyni. One might therefore believe that what was now being stated was nothing new. Following this, however, Khamene'i tied in his assertion with the events in the Soviet Transcaucasus.

"It would be a great mistake," the ayatollah continued, "to believe that behind the Muslim movement in Azerbaijan lie ethnic and national motives...."

What would you think the motives are? After all, we have been looking at the conflict in the Transcaucasus as an interethnic one. Khamene'i argues otherwise:

"This sentiment is Islamic and is drawing the attention of a billion Muslims in the world...."

Of course it is the concern of the spiritual leader of Iran to judge what is happening in the world. It is quite evident, however, that he is not empowered to speak on behalf of all Muslims. But this does not trouble him. He even feels he has the right to evaluate the leaders of the Soviet Union. Listen:

"Reviewing its past policies, the Soviet leadership has shown courage worthy of praise. The Muslim people have been allowed to observe their religious ceremonies and traditions...."

What—is this new? Over the course of many years now, a great deal has been done in the Soviet Union so that our Islamic fellow countrymen, followers of the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed, could not only perform their religious rites, but feel that they were citizens of their country with full rights. Perhaps this is not so? Perestroyka has radically changed a great deal in this

regard. The Iranian spiritual leader felt he had the right to call upon our leadership not to make "an incorrect analysis" of (religious) sentiment which could result in a rigid, mistrusting attitude towards it.... "This is Islam. It cannot be suppressed."

Yet another circumstance naturally calls attention to itself. During these very same days, Iran's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Va'ezi invited the Soviet ambassador in Tehran to his office and expressed anxiety over what is going on in the Soviet Transcaucasus. And Tehran newspapers threatened...an Islamic conflagration!

Official circles in Turkey are also disturbed by what has taken place on the USSR-Turkey border and events in the Transcaucasus. And the judgments there are marked with a definite accent, although the anti-Armenian syndrome in Ankara is well known.

As we can see, the events taking place in our country are troubling our neighbors in their own way. But I must call your attention to the appearance, in the two warring republics of the Transcaucasus, of a great quantity of arms and ammunition. We are not just talking about what was seized as a result of raids on military units in Azerbaijan and Armenia, but other sources of weapons and military equipment as well. But where did Azeri and Armenian revolutionary fighters get helicopters, termed "unidentified" in our press? Where did they get bullet-proof vests and other state-of-the-art military equipment? It seems to me those who indicate all this has come in from abroad are not far from the truth. But from where?

Perhaps in order to make it easier to deliver arms and ammunition into the Soviet Union they took down all the border structures along the USSR-Iran and USSR-Turkey border? I am deeply alarmed at our calm attitude toward arms and military equipment being in the possession of our fellow countrymen. Why do we accept this with such Olympian calm? Is it possible this does not threaten public order? Of course it does. Today they are firing in the Transcaucasus. Tomorrow....

We see signs of increased activity on the part of those in Afghanistan who are interested in tearing down the Afghan-Soviet border. And there are people on our side of it who think the same way. There is talk of a rebirth of the Basmachi movement. Let us recall once again "Program M," carried out by special services of Pakistan—through Afghanistan, of course. And again we have occasion to hear about the aspirations of those we call Islamic fundamentalists. They are greatly hoping that Muslim solidarity will enable them to turn the southern border of the Soviet Union into a source of alarm—yes, for Moscow.

Incidentally, statements have been resounding recently in Baku by People's Front activists to the effect that the Russians are to blame for everything that has been happening in the Transcaucasus. Talk about completely unfounded accusations! If Moscow is to be mentioned at all, it should be to state that it has been doing everything it can to regulate the interethnic conflict and render the border between the Soviet Union and Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan calm. And there is no need to attempt to thrust upon us, as Iranian spiritual leader Ayatollah Khamene'i has done, one's political approach to our ethnic problems in order to exacerbate them using the "Islamic factor"....

UN Human Rights Delegation Visits Iran

NC2801144990 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, as we reported earlier, a UN delegation on human rights headed by Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, a UN expert, has paid a visit to Iran. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl's week-long visit to Iran can undoubtedly be considered a strange occurrence in the political life of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The UN human rights delegation visited Iran at the government's invitation. It was probably anticipated that this visit would boost Iran's credibility and prestige at the international level, and help neutralize reports about violations of human rights in Iran.

Many opposition groupings, especially the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization [MKO], submitted reports to Reynaldo Galindo Pohl prior to his arival in Iran. These reports claimed that opponents of the regime were being executed and gave the names of political prisoners. However, the Iranian Government has vehemently rejected all accusations about violations of human rights in the country and termed them anti-Islamic propaganda. Therefore, the work of the UN human rights delegation was of immense importance to the Iranian leadership.

Immediately after their arrival in Tehran, Reynaldo Galindo Pohl and his team were subjected to a display of strong political feeling. On the day after their arrival, some 50 relatives of Iranian prisoners, including wives and mothers, staged a demonstration outside the place where the UN delegation was staying. In response, relatives of those who had been killed by the MKO's terrorist acts also staged demonstrations, shouting slogans against the MKO and demanding a meeting with the UN delegation.

Reynaldo Galindo Pohl held no meetings with the demonstrators. His approach did not conform to the government's stance and IRNA immediately issued a commentary loudly castigating the UN delegation for refraining from meeting with those who had been harmed by the anti-Islamic activities of the MKO. In brief, the activity of the international organization's delegation continued in an atmosphere replete with indignation. It is difficult to say at present whether the UN team was successful in obtaining objective information about events in Iran.

Reynaldo Galindo Pohl has thus far not made any official statement and the Iranian authorities have also been reticent. The Islamic Republic of Iran's mass media paid scant attention to the visit and did not give many details. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with the work of the UN human rights delegation can be discerned in some reports.

It is no coincidence that most foreign observers believe that the (?conclusions) of the UN Human Rights Commission will, in general, [words indistinct] be unfavorable. Nevertheless, the Tehran Government may have been successful in (?manipulating) the present situation in its political battle against its opponents in the international arena.

India's Gujral Remark Evokes PRC Protest

PM2601112390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[N. Paklin dispatch: "India: One Minister Refuting Another"]

[Text] Delhi—On his way back from an official 4-day visit to the Maldives, Indian Foreign Minister I.L. Gujral gave an interview to a group of journalists in the aircraft. He specifically declared that India's Government has not amended its stance as regards Tibet, which it still considered to be part of China. Moreover, the minister especially stressed India's intention to pursue the process of normalizing relations with neighboring China.

This statement by the head of India's foreign policy department will presumably put an end to misunderstandings about the new Indian Government's "special approach" toward the Tibet problem. These misunderstandings were caused by a recent speech by Minister of Railways J. Fernandes to a group of Tibetans living in Delhi. He expressed support for the campaign to proclaim Tibet an "independent state."

J. Fernandes' statement did not pass unnoticed. The Chinese Government sent a protest note to the Indian Foreign Ministry. Even before the parliamentary elections, J. Fernandes had initiated the holding of an international conference in Delhi under the slogan of "granting independence to Tibet." V.P. Singh, chairman of the Janata Party and India's present prime minister, dissociated himself from him at that time. He told journalists that this initiative did not reflect the policy of the National Front, whose nucleus is the Janata Party, but originated from J. Fernandes personally.

The statements by the minister of railways have placed the government of which he is a member in an awkward position. On coming to power, the new government declared through the prime minister that it perceived the development and improvement of relations with China as one of its main foreign policy objectives. The sides have moved from words to deeds: They have agreed to hold talks on reducing the armed forces deployed on both sides of the India-China border. J. Fernandes' statement, THE TIMES OF INDIA writes, has come at a time when India and China are about to begin "serious talks on the question of consolidating the course of maintaining peace and tranquillity along the border."

Let us recall that Tibet's spiritual leader, the dalai lama, has been living on Indian territory since 1959. Several thousand Tibetans moved to India with him. The Indian Government accepted them on condition that they would not engage in political activity. But it cannot be said that the Tibetans who have settled in India are keeping altogether out of politics. They have set up their own political organizations—the Association of Tibetan refugees and the Tibetan Youth Congress. Every now and then they hold demonstrations, including some outside the PRC Embassy in Delhi. They demand that India's government change its policy on Tibet and "support the just and legitimate cause of Tibetan independence."

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the dalai lama in October 1989 encouraged the Tibetan emigrants' actions. They perceived the Nobel Committee's decision as support for their demand that Tibet be given independence. The dalai lama himself made serious accusations against the Chinese authorities. At the same time, the dalai lama has repeatedly spoken in favor of a dialogue with Beijing so as to try to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibet problem. Judging by news reports from Beijing, the actual principle of talks is not rejected there, either.

Political circles in the Indian capital stress their interest in seeing peace and tranquillity reign in Tibet, which is directly adjacent to India.

Deputy Appeals to Afghans for POW Release

PM3001161590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Appeal to Afghan People"]

[Text] Kabul, 28 Jan—Colonel V.N. Ochirov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Hero of the Soviet Union, in Afghanistan as a member of a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, has appealed to the Afghan people on Afghan television. In his appeal he said this:

"Esteemed citizens of friendly Afghanistan, on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies I salute you and convey ardent greetings and wishes of health, wealth, and happiness to the great Afghan people.

"A Soviet parliamentary delegation is now in Afghanistan at the invitation of your republic's parliament. The delegation includes a large number of ex-internationalist servicemen who fulfilled their military duty in your country; our delegation has a total of 120 people's deputies.

"During these last few days we have spoken with authoritative people in your country— people from various social classes and with different beliefs—but all of us are unanimous on one point: In the name of charity, peace, justice, and good, we must help those who have been taken prisoner, secure their freedom, and return them to their native homes. In every Afghan family and in every Soviet family to which a son, brother, husband, or father has not returned, there is pain in the heart of their mother, father, and brother.

"A month ago the Soviet parliament adopted a humane act under which servicemen taken prisoner are not criminals. Moreover, those who voluntarily switched to the side of the enemy during the war are also to be amnestied under this law and can boldly return home, to their native land: They will not be judged.

"I appeal to you, freedom-loving Afghan citizens—nomads and artisans, workers and employees, traders and members of the intelligentsia. Show concern and charity and report all that you know about prisoners of war—either Afghan or Soviet—to the Soviet embassy or the parliament of the Republic of Afghanistan.

"I appeal to the citizens of Afghanistan who are in opposition to the government to show charity, goodwill, and common sense and help to bring about the return of prisoners to their native homes. May this good work, which has now begun, become a new step on the way to reconciliation in the long-suffering land of ancient Afghanistan."

Vorontsov Talks With Kuwaiti Ambassador

LD2601182590 Kuwait KUNA in English 1528 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 26 (KUNA)—Kuwait's ambassador in Moscow 'Abd al-Mohsen Al-Du'ayj Friday said he had told a senior Soviet official the Kuwaiti people was closely watching the tense situation in Azerbaijan and hopes a peaceful settlement could be reached soon.

The Kuwaiti diplomat told KUNA he made the remark in his meeting last night with First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov.

Al-Du'ayj said he told Vornotsov Kuwait hopes that Moscow would work out a fair and peaceful solution for the Azerbaijan crisis so that the Kremlin could devote itself to solving international issues.

Vorontsov expressed concern about the unrest in the Transcaucasia region and said Soviet troops and police were trying to restore peace to the area which he said is experiencing unrest due to the fact that civilians there were using arms to press their demands.

The meeting was in line with consultations between the two countries on international matters and issues of common interest, Al-Du'ayj said.

Vorontsov, commenting on recent remarks by Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir on expansion of Jewish settlements to accommodate immigrants from the Soviet Union and eastern bloc states, said Moscow considers Israel's settlement policy as a breach of international laws.

It was also creating a formidable obstacle in the face of Middle East peace efforts, the Soviet official said.

Vorontsov added that his country would relay its position on the issue to Israel through a third party due to the lack of diplomatic relations between the two sides.

He said the Soviet Union would not open a direct flight route between Moscow and Tel Aviv despite pressures on the Soviet Union to do so.

East Europe

GDR's Modrow Pays 24-Hour Working Visit

Gorbachev Views Reunification

LD3001100290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0934 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In the view of Mikhail Gorbachev, the question of the unification of the two German states requires an analytical approach. It must not be decided on the street, the Soviet state and party leader told journalists in Moscow, prior to his talks with GDR Premier Hans Modrow.

The points of departure for this are clear. There are two German states: There is the responsibility of the four powers, and there is the European process. All these must be harmonized with each other.

Modrow Arrives in Moscow

LD2901204390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2015 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, arrived in Moscow for a working visit late this evening at the invitation of the Soviet leadership. This is the first visit to our country by the head of the GDR Government. He was elected to the post in November last year. The visit is not a long one—Hans Modrow intends to spend only 24 hours in the Soviet capital—but it is packed with talks with the Soviet leadership on a wide range of problems. Meetings are anticipated with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of ministers.

Begins Talks With Gorbachev

LD3001103990 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow Januray 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Sergey Vozianov and Lyudmila Shvedova:

Talks began here this morning between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with Hans Modrow, head of Government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), who arrived here late Monday night for a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

A wide range of matters concerning both bilateral relations, including the economic aspect, and the problems of the CSCE process are expected to be discussed during this meeting in Moscow.

Prior to the talks, there was a brief meeting with journalists.

In answer to a GDR television correspondent's question about the Soviet Union's attitude to the German reunification issue, Gorbachev remarked that this question was not unexpected.

Basically, none casts any doubt upon it. However, the development of events in the world, in the GDR and the Soviet Union requires profound assessment and analytical approach to a solution of the issue which is an important aspect of European and world politics, he said.

Time itself is having an impact on the process and lends dynamism to it. It is essential to act responsibly and not seek solution to this important issue in the streets, Gorbachev said.

There are two states. There are obligations by the four powers, and there is the CSCE process—all should be combined in common interests without detriment to any side, Gorbachev emphasised.

After the talks Modrow will speak at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, and will leave the Soviet Union tonight.

Modrow Discusses Confederation

LD3001163890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1314 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The GDR and USSR have collectively affirmed their firm intention to comprehensively meet their responsibility for the peace, stability, and beneficial cooperation of the European peoples. This was stated by GDR Premier Hans Modrow in Moscow on Tuesday to the international press at the end of his negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The all-European process, he stressed, is offering a suitable and proven framework for this. "This includes the purposeful development of relations between the two German states and the recognition of shared responsibility with a treaty-based community, in order to pursue, via this mechanism, the rapprochement of the GDR and FRG on their way to a confederation."

Both sides expressed their concern that fanning up nationalistic moods could mean that the situation would go out of control and that the fears among the neighbours of the two German states would grow.

Hans Modrow said that the talks reflected the firm intention of the parties, based on current achievements, to impart a new quality to cooperation between the two countries, to demolish rhetoric and demonstrative forms, and to give absolute priority to businesslike cooperation aimed at concrete results.

"We proceed from the premise that the alliance with the USSR is of primary import to the GDR. This is not just a question of security policy. The extent of the economic cooperation and the degree of the two states' national economic involvement with one another underline the vital import of the relations with the USSR for the GDR and her people." These relations go far beyond bilateral issues and are important for relations in Europe and beyond.

Hans Modrow said that in his talks he expressed the unconditional support of the GDR people for perestroyka, which has made possible the restructuring in the GDR and without which future renewal and democratisation in the GDR are unthinkable.

In reply to journalists' questions, Modrow said that problems of the unification of the German states were thoroughly discussed with Mikhail Gorbachev. He said: "Questions of the unification of the two German states were discussed. Taking as the starting point the will of the citizens of the GDR and also in the FRG and implementation of the self-determination right of the German people. Unification must be seen within the framework of a European process. Conditioned by historical, social, and economic realities, it is to be assumed that this process will take place in stages and is in the interests of the Germans in both states."

On the four powers' responsibility for the two German states, the premier said that this is not a theoretical problem. The four powers obviously assume that they have common interests regarding the situation of the two German states and Berlin (West). This aspect was not omitted in his talks with Gorbachev.

Modrow said that he expressed ideas and thoughts to the Soviet head of state about possible ways and stages of unification, which of course also touch on the interests of the four powers. Great attention was paid to his views.

Asked about the stages of possible unification, Modrow said that this is a matter of the European process in its totality. "I am assuming that it will now indeed be

necessary to resolutely address the question of a single German fatherland, or whatever terms have been recently coined for this."

His government statement of November was aimed at creating a treaty-based community. Confederate characteristics can be included on a gradual basis. Today he is assuming that this would only be a stage. Beyond that, further stages are possible, which can take on the nature of a confederation. "At the same time there remains for us the responsibility to safeguard European interests fully and to do everything in such a way that the process of rapprochement and the shaping of a peaceful European home can also be included and not suffer damage from these processes," Modrow stressed. "The prospect of unification lies ahead of us," he said. But it is not yet possible to give an answer on the timeframe for this. Gorbachev, too, did not exclude such a prospect in the long term.

The GDR premier strongly rejected the term "reunification." Anyone who speaks of reunification has the 1937 borders in mind. The GDR is working on the assumption that the border on the Oder- Neisse, between the GDR and Poland, is fixed in the Treaty of Zgorzelec. This is an irrefutable principle.

GDR Party Leader Gysi Plans Feb Visit

PM2901170190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On the Working Visit to the USSR of G. Gysi, chairman of SED-PDS"]

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, G. Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of February 1990.

CPSU Greets Polish Social Democracy Congress

PM2901211590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Polish Social Democracy constituent congress]

[Text] To the Constituent Congress of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland

Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the delegates to the constituent congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

Your congress is taking place at a time which is exceptionally important and crucial for Poland's future destiny, when an active process of reforming the country's political system is under way and social and socioeconomic relations are being renewed.

We are confident that, in these conditions, the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, continuing the best traditions of the workers, socialist, and social democratic movement, will be an active participant and an important factor in Poland's sociopolitical life.

Your party can rely on Soviet Communists' support in its activity for the benefit of the working people and the whole Polish people.

CPSU Central Committee

Government Protests Attack on Krakow Consulate

LD2901124190 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 29 Jan 90

["Soviet Union lodges official protest to Poland"—headline]

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—The Soviet Union has lodged an official protest to Poland over an attack on the Soviet Consulate in Krakow.

An official statement handed in to Poland's charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union Jerzy Smolinski today, said that on January 28, a large group of thugs broke the consulate's gates, pencirated its territory and tried to break into the consulate. They hurled stones at the building, breaking windows.

Expressing a resolute protest in connection with the attack on the Soviet Consulate in Krakow, the Soviet side demands that all the necessary measures be taken to ensure the safety of Soviet diplomatic, consular and other missions in Poland, the statement said.

Text of Protest

PM2901162190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Official Protest"]

[Text] I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, summoned J. Smolinski, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Poland in the USSR, on 29 January and made the following official statement to him.

At 1415 hours on 28 January 1990, a large group of extremist elements committed an attack on the Soviet consulate general in Krakow. Having broken down the gates, the unbridled thugs penetrated the mission grounds and attempted to invade the premises of the consulate general by force. Rocks were thrown at the building and windows were smashed. All this was accompanied by hostile shouts against the Soviet Union and other anti-Soviet manifestations.

The Polish authorities failed to guarantee the safety of the consulate general, thus failing to observe the universally recognized norms of international law which guarantee the immunity of consular missions.

It is noteworthy that this is not the first instance of anti-Soviet actions.

There have been previous incidents involving desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers who died in battles for Poland's liberation and outrages to monuments to most eminent figures of the Soviet state. Matters have now reached the point of a direct attack against a Soviet mission.

It is incomprehensible that the Polish government has hitherto failed to publicly condemn all these actions, which inflict serious damage on relations between the two countries and between the Soviet and Polish peoples.

Expressing a resolute protest in connection with the attack against the USSR consulate general in Krakow, the Soviet side demands that all necessary measures be taken to ensure the safety of Soviet diplomatic, consular, and other missions in Poland and expects the Polish authorities to take appropriate measures toward the persons who committed the attack against the consulate general in Krakow.

Protest in Moscow

LD2901162690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Jan (TASS)—V.I. Brovikov, USSR ambassador in Poland, today visited B. Kulski, a secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Poland, and handed him a note expressing resolute protest to the Polish Government in connection with the hooliganish attack in the USSR Consulate General in Krakow.

IZVESTIYA Interviews CPCZ's Adamec

PM2901111190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with L. Adamec, chairman of the CPCZ, by own correspondent L. Kornilov; date of interview not specified; first paragraph is editorial introduction: "Does the CPCZ Have a Future?"]

[Text] Last August Ladislav Adamec gave our newspaper a long interview as president of the CSSR Government (IZVESTIYA No. 241). Since then, everything in Czechoslovakia has changed drastically. It was not merely L. Adamec's fate that was decided during the "tender revolution." He ceased to head the government. Communists elected him chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] at an extraordinary party congress in December 1989.

Prague—[Kornilov] Comrade Chairman, what is your opinion of the sociopolitical processes taking place in the CSSR?

[Adamec] They can only be described as a broad and multifaceted democratic movement with a very varied social spectrum. Many views are still only crystallizing, some positions are conflicting. But that is quite natural and normal.

The CPCZ's former policy has by and large failed. The former leadership was unable to take charge of the renewal process. It did not take account of our peoples' rich humanist and cultural traditions or people's way of thinking. Now pluralization of the political system is on the agenda—that is, preparation for free elections, major legislative changes, and economic reforms geared toward the market. Clearly the renewed CPCZ will not only "hold a position" on these questions, but will also submit concrete initiatives and proposals.

I do not claim to be a prophet and I will not make far-reaching forecasts. It is at any rate clear that the process of society's radical democratization and, I would say, modernization is necessary and irreversible.

[Kornilov] Where are the CPCZ's strongest positions today—in which strata of the population, in the big cities or in the provinces?

[Adamec] I cannot answer this uniformly. At first glance, its positions are above all stronger in the major cities, in industrial agglomerations, among the working class, where there was a considerable degree of party organization. But the party has virtually lost its positions among the intelligentsia. Life is heading for even greater political differentiation. Many people are waiting expectantly to see what programs the new parties and groupings bring to the general election. Many people, in my opinion, still sympathize with the CPCZ. Whether the party renews its prestige and recovers its weight in society depends on how it succeeds in implementing its action program, interesting the people prior to the election, and winning their support. This is not a struggle for some new monopoly. Our policy is to submit initiatives on how to solve problems and take a constructive part in implementing all progressive and useful ideas on the basis of citizens' demands, wishes, and hopes.

[Kornilov] What changes have there been in party life? What still needs to be changed? What will be the main thing here, the hardest thing? How can you describe the members of the new Central Committee?

[Adamec] The upheavals which the party has experienced necessitate radical changes in the party itself and its revival on new principles, including a change of name. We are at a turning point. I am talking about transforming the CPCZ into a modern leftwing party in line with the changes taking place in Europe today and with the demands for a "common European home." I consider this task to be the most important and the hardest. Speaking in general terms, beginning this process was the main contribution made by the extraordinary party congress. Our action program, provisional statute, and the decisions of the First CPCZ Central Committee Plenum confirm our transition to this orientation. The Central Committee, with few exceptions, is made up of quite young men—the average age of its

members is approximately 40. Figuratively speaking, the new Central Committee is 11 years younger than the previous one. Central Committee members have received their mandate straight from rank-and-file party members and, presumably, express their views.

[Kornilov] Without doubt, repentance of and dissociation from past mistakes are necessary today. But at present this repentance only seems to be a concession for the CPCZ. Do you not think that the CPCZ is lagging behind generally? Don't you think that it is too occupied with its internal affairs and is not visible on the public arena? If a leftwing coalition is necessary, why is the CPCZ not already fighting to create it today?

[Adamec] You are right in many respects. The party was forced to make a resolute break with the past and begin cleansing itself of deformations; this was not on its own initiative, and that was its fatal mistake. Now thorough analysis of past miscalculations and excesses and naming the culprits is a fundamental condition for the party's revival. And that is what it is now doing. If it does not resolve these issues, the party will be unable to consolidate its position as a real political force. But I would not say that we are isolated from current political and public affairs. We are maintaining active contacts with all those involved in the social process, and are engaged in "roundtable" discussions with representatives of other parties and movements about the ways to develop our country. I think that Communists' say does carry weight here. Today we see a leftwing coalition in terms of exchanging ideas and thoughts but it is not impossible that it could also take an organizational form in time.

[Kornilov] Our military leader Suvorov said that victories must be won not by numbers but by skill. The CPCZ did have 1.7 million members—more than 10 percent of the country's population—now there are considerably fewer people in its ranks. Isn't it better to have a smaller party but a more muscular, enterprising, and bolder party, which is prepared for any surprises?

[Adamec] Yes, experience has certainly shown that the party's strength does not reside in the number of its members or in its monopoly on power. Nor even in the number of correct resolutions which we, unfortunately, did not succeed in implementing in a timely and complete fashion. We have gained historical experience and received a serious warning regarding the future. That is painful, but useful.

You cited Suvorov's words. I would even add using, if I can, his style: "Yes, we have lost a very important battle but we do not want to lose the war." We want to do everything to ensure that our party becomes morally strong, enterprising, and ideologically active, and we want the party masses to be the determining factor in our work. We have radically cut back the party apparatus—by 80 percent, that is by 8,000 people. We have also restricted its role within the party. The situation where the apparatus supplants elective bodies and directs everything will never repeat itself.

[Kornilov] The CPCZ has a glorious past, at one time the people followed it enthusiastically.... Why did it become a sluggish, passive party? Why did leaders feel better in the comfort of their offices and at official meetings rather than among the people, ordinary people?

[Adamec] Your criticism is just, but I would say that it does not only apply to the CPCZ or to Czechoslovakia. Look at what is happening in other socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. Many similarities can also be found there. The entire communist movement has paid dear for the gross distortion of our ideas in the Stalinist era. In the socialist countries this led to the emergence of totalitarian regimes which proved extremely durable. You may recall the dramatic fate of the CPCZ reforms in 1968.

[Kornilov] Edenek Needli, Julius Fucik, Vladislav Vancura, Ivan Ohlbracht, Maria Majerova, Egon Ervin Kiss.... You do of course understand, Comrade Chairman, the purpose of this list of famous names. Outstanding people worked within the CPCZ (or at any rate were closely associated with it). Was this not prestigious for the party? It seems that the situation is different now....

[Adamec] The presence of outstanding people has, as we know from history, an undisputed effect on the formation of a movement. Your example from the cultural sphere depicts one of the bright traditions that was devalued and gradually lost by some leading CPCZ functionaries. This happened through sectarianism, dogmatism, and short-sighted appraisal of people based on their personal devotion. Without doubt, both today and in the future the CPCZ cannot do without outstanding people in culture, science, government, education, and all spheres of life. Only the future will tell to what extent we succeed in attracting them.

[Kornilov] Many famous people are leaving the party. What would you say about that?

[Adamec] There are very varied reasons for that. This is all a highly individual matter. At present it would be premature to evaluate the significance of some comrades leaving CPCZ ranks.

[Kornilov] A rather personal question now. Initially you were not elected to the new CPCZ leadership. You retired from the post of head of government.... How did you feel about this?

[Adamec] I see the discharge of definite political functions above all as a responsibility to citizens and party members. When I resigned as president of the Federal Government I was convinced that I lacked the conditions honestly to fulfill those functions. But voluntary resignation is hard. Difficult. Especially when a person has been unable to put his plans into effect. My unfulfilled aspiration was to open the way to in-depth reforms, not only economic but also political reforms, and thus

avert the impending crisis. In some cases resignation—if it is in the interests of the cause—can also be a positive and constructive act.

[Kornilov] Someone recently said in the press that the process of renewing Czechoslovak society in 1968 was no more than history, and the well-known expression "socialism with a human face" is only suitable for a museum exhibition....

[Adamec] My view is that the concept and experience of the CPCZ of 1968 is also very useful today. History of course will not repeat itself and the situation is different now. Now our society has gone considerably further in many areas. But I believe that if the CPCZ had had the chance at the time to continue its reformist efforts, this would have benefited both Czechoslovakia and the whole leftwing socialist movement. Our platform—not only in name but also in substance—is the heir to the ideas of 1968, the action program of that time. "Socialism with a human face" is a splendid and accurate image. It has not become outmoded at all, on the contrary, it is extremely topical today, it is what most people want.

[Kornilov] What do you believe in?

[Adamec] In the socialist ideals for which I joined the CPCZ after World War II. I have always associated socialism with working people's confidence and activeness, rather than with instructions, dogma, power, and monoplies of any kind.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Receives Austria's Klestil

LD2601171690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1617 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, today received Thomas Klestil, general secretary of the Austrian Ministry of Foriegn Affairs, who handed over a personal message from Austria's Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

Matters pertaining to Soviet-Austrian relations and bilateral cooperation were discussed. Certain international problems of mutual interest were also considered.

The sides reasserted both countries' commitment to the pan-European process and spoke in favor of holding a summit meeting this year between the participants in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Constantinople Church Visitor Cited on Divisions

PM2501113590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Metropolitan's Visit"]

[Text] Metropolitan Mirskiy Chrysostom [name as transliterated], representative of the Constantinople Orthodox Church, visited the USSR for a few days. He spent the Christmas holidays in Tbilisi at the invitation of Ilya II, catholicos and patriarch of all Georgia. While in Moscow he had meetings with Yuvenaliy, metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna, and Kirill, archbishop of Smolensk and Kaliningrad and chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate Department of Foreign Church Relations, prominent figures of the Russian Orthodox Church and members of the Holy Synod.

On the eve of his departure from Moscow Metropolitan Chrysostom met with a group of secular and church journalists and shared his impressions with them. The conversation also touched on the sentiments which have emerged in religious life in the Western Ukraine. In this connection Metropolitan Chrysostom said that the Church of Constantinople regards them as internal questions of the Russian Orthodox Church's life, and thinks that they will be solved in a timely fashion by means of dialogue and in a peaceful way.

The guest was asked a question connected with the recent resolution of the Russian Orthodox Church Holy Synod about the unfrocking of former Bishop Ioann (Bodnarchuk), who had created a schism through the creation of the so-called Ukrainian autocephalous orthodox church and had appointed himself its chief hierarch. At the same time Bodnarchuk claims that he had the blessing of His Holiness Dimitrios I, patriarch of Constantinople. Answering questions, Metropolitan Chrysostom stated unequivocally that there was no patriarchal blessing and that the Church of Constantinople shares the position of its sister, the Russian Orthodox Church, on this question.

Falin Meets FRG Economic Cooperation Minister

PM2501143590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 19 January V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, had talks with J. Warnke, FRG minister for economic cooperation and deputy chairman of the Christian Social Union, who participated in the work of the "Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Survival" in Moscow. There was an exchange of opinions on certain topical questions of the contemporary international situation.

Joint Ventures With Spain To Be Promoted

LD2501193790 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—The main results of and prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and Spain in the field of science and engineering were

considered at the seventh session of the mixed commission which ended here today.

The Soviet and Spanish delegations, led by Kiril Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and Luis Janes, secretary of state of the Spanish Foreign Ministry, praised scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries and noted that progress had been made in fundamental and applied research, in health services, railway transport, geology and mining.

It was decided that the commission would promote the establishment of direct links between Soviet enterprises and Spanish firms, the development of joint research collectives, of engineering services for introducing the results of research and development into production and joint ventures in science-intensive fields.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze Receives Cuban Envoy 25 Jan

PM2601154190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general headline: "Conversations"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, on 25 January received Cuban Ambassador to the USSR Julio Camacho Aguilera at the latter's request.

During a conversation which took place in a comradely atmosphere there was an exchange of opinions on a number of questions of bilateral relations and topical issues of international life.

Socialist Reform 'Viewed Critically' in Cuba

LD2801080490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] The restructuring taking place in our country, and the changes in the socialist countries of East Europe have evoked a mixed appraisal in Cuba. We asked our correspondent in Havana, Viktor Gorbachev, to speak about this in more detail.

[Gorbachev] The processes taking place in the socialist countries of Europe are viewed critically in Cuba. In his speech at the beginning of December last year, Comrade Fidel Castro said, in particular, that it has been stated that socialism has to be perfected. No one can dispute this principle, but can socialism be perfected if the most elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism are forgotten? Why must the so-called reforms develop in the capitalist sense? If these ideas are truly as revolutionary as certain people believe, why do they receive such unanimous and enthusiastic support from imperialist leaders?

The newspaper GRANMA, evaluating the situation in the European socialist countries, wrote a few days ago that the process of destabilization which has enveloped them is caused directly by the activity of the United States, by major mistakes, and also by a broad campaign against the chief values of socialism and its indisputable achievements. As a consequence, if socialism is experiencing a crisis, the world is threatened by the hegemony of the United States. The aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism has increased, as has the military threat to Cuba. In these conditions, a new slogan has appeared in Cuba: Socialism or death.

Like us, the Cubans need to resolve socio-economic problems as soon as possible, because you will agree, if a person meets shortages at every step, then ultimately he may lose faith in socialism's ability to provide people with conditions of life that are worthy and at the level of modern civilization.

PRAVDA Reports on Castro Address

PM2901215590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "F. Castro Speech"]

[Text] Havana, 29 Jan—The Cuban revolution is now going through its "most decisive period," Cuban leader Fidel Castro has declared, speaking at the closure of the 16th Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions Congress Sunday.

The period through which the country is now living, the Cuban leader noted, coincides in the international arena with one of the most dubious, uncertain, and problematic periods of the revolution's existence. U.S. imperialism believes that we will prove unable to overcome the difficulties existing in our country, which are associated not only with the country's complex economic position but also with problems caused by the processes in East European countries. In Castro's words, the building of capitalism has become the openly proclaimed goal of some of these countries. Capitalist tendencies are strong in most of them, he said, while U.S. advisers promoting the formation of capitalism are to be found in some states. Anticommunist moods are gathering strength in almost all countries, except for the USSR. Thus, East European states have taken the path of Western-style reforms, Castro pointed out.

Dwelling on the economic difficulties being encountered by Cuba, Castro declared that there is total uncertainty as regards the development of ties with East European countries over the next 5 years. He did, however, express the hope that trade treaties linking Cuba with these states will be honored in 1990.

The Cuban leader emphasized that Cuba's economic relations with the Soviet Union "have so far not suffered from these processes." However, he noted, there are now people in the Soviet Union—not in the government and not in the party, but in the mass media and in parliament—who are supporters of the abolition of this type of economic relations. Despite claims by some Soviet mass

media, Soviet-Cuban commodity exchange is mutually advantageous, Castro declared.

The Cuban leader noted the immutability of the Communist Party of Cuba's leading role, which is enshrined in the Constitution. At the same time, he emphasized that the party's leading role was granted not by the country's main law but by history itself, which abounds with the struggle for the motherland's freedom and independence.

Lukyanov Receives New Brazilian Envoy

LD2601211990 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Brazilian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Sebastiao do Rego Barros Netto presented his credentials to Soviet First Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov in the Kremlin today.

The ambassador noted with satisfaction the coincidence of the two countries' stands on the main problems of the present, in maintaining peace and consolidating international security.

It was noted that the forthcoming visit of the Brazilian President-elect Fernando Collor to the USSR illustrates the new leadership's desire to ensure the continuity of the fruitful political dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Lukyanov said that the Soviet Union highly appreciated Brazil's active course in international affairs and its participation in the work of the United Nations.

Transcaucasus Situation

Yazov Says Troops To Stay Until Order Restored

PM2901160790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent R. Ignatyev under rubric: "Events, Facts, Opinions": "Situation Stabilizing"]

[Text] Our correspondent has contacted USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov by telephone. This is what the minister told him:

[Yazov] The situation in Transcaucasia is stabilizing on the whole. During the past 24 hours (28 January), for instance, no one has been killed or injured in Baku or the surrounding area. A number of enterprises in the city are back in operation. By 25 January all personnel called up from the reserve to assist the troops had been sent home. The flow of refugees has also practically come to a halt now.

The political situation in the area remains complex, however. Informal groups are urging the local population to stage a strike, are putting forward all kinds of demands and slogans, and are declaring that they will not be made to work at gunpoint. Although, as you know, the troops are not here to force anyone to work. After all, local inhabitants have gotten hold of many weapons and explosive devices. It is our task to confiscate all this as quickly as possible, to prevent further bloodshed. We are doing all we can. To date we have confiscated thousands of homemade grenades and rifles. Frequently people surrender weapons of their own accord. There are lots of all kind of weapons, particularly among the Armenian population. They are mainly in the hands of extremists. Inhabitants are turning for assistance to the military. There are still cases of armed attacks on state institutions. In short, the situation is fairly complex.

[Ignayev] In your opinion, Comrade Minister, how long will the troops stay in this region?

[Yazov] The troops will remain here until proper order is restored. However, I must say, that the local authorities are currently acting more resolutely.

Meeting With Military 28 Jan

PM2901210790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Major V. Kazakov telephone report: "No Matter How Emotions Rage"]

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Jan—Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, held a conference with commanders of troop units, military commissars, and leaders of military departments from the city's higher education establishments in Yerevan 28 January. It provided the venue for a serious and specific conversation about the situation in the region.

Today, when the confrontation along the union republics' borders has been halted and ways for the peaceful settlement of disputed issues are being sought with help from the command of Soviet Army units, the illegal possession of weapons by either side poses a threat to the safety of citizens and is fraught with unpredictable calamities. At present, about 30 units of combat equipment, cars, and armaments, more than 6,500 combat and training weapons, and a large quantity of ammunition and explosives are being held illegally. According to local newspaper reports, the number of crimes involving the use of weapons has sharply increased. Five instances of the use of weapons for criminal purposes were recorded in the past week alone. Totally innocent people are suffering.

Aware of the entire gravity of the situation, the Republic State of Emergency Council, the leaders of informal organizations, and the garrison command are engaged in large-scale explanatory work on the voluntary surrender of weapons. There are positive results.

Baku Commandant Details Situation 27 Jan

PM2901144190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[AZERINFORM-TASS report on interview with Baku City Commandant Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak: "Difficulties Being Overcome"]

[Text] Baku, 27 Jan—A week after the state of emergency was declared in the city the operational situation is stabilizing, Baku City Commandant Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak said. He was answering TASS correspondents' questions today concerning the situation in the city.

There have been two incidents in the past 24 hours. A group of servicemen was fired on from a passing car. One soldier was wounded. In Kirovskiy Rayon in the evening a military detail noticed a citizen carrying an assault rifle. When they tried to stop him he replied with a burst of gunfire and took refuge in a building that was under construction. Troops immediately surrounded the building.

In all, 102 people were arrested on the night of 26 January for breaking the curfew. Not all of them stopped at the first time of asking. In this case a warning device is used—firing into the air.

[Correspondent] Are there still all manner of rumors flying around the city?

[Dubinyak] Unfortunately, yes. For example, there has been much talk about gunfire in the vicinity of the Salyanskiye Barracks. There are rumors among the locals that the subunits there are being brought up to strength with Armenian nationals. In fact, they were reservists who had been drafted in. Obviously, they are grown men, not 19-year-old boys. This has prompted aggression against them. People have been firing at them from

surrounding houses. This also provoked return fire. The incident was localized and it was decided to bring the reservists out of Baku and demobilize them. The subunits there at the moment have been replenished with inducted personnel.

[Correspondent] What is your view of the Azerbaijan People's Front?

[Dubinyak] Mixed. It is necessary to analyze who caused the tragedy and what part the People's Front and its extremist forces played in this.

[Correspondent] What do you have to say about claims of unlawful actions by servicemen in the city?

[Dubinyak] All reports and materials concerning this have been passed on to the military prosecutor's office. An investigation is under way. There has also been an order to servicemen to be especially courteous and tactful when examining cars. I will say that attitudes toward the army have improved compared with the days immediately after the state of emergency was declared.

[Correspondent] A few words about the main tasks of the commandant's office.

[Dubinyak] The first and most important task is to protect public order and the safety of citizens. We are conscious of active support from party and soviet organs for all our efforts.

We are also actively cooperating with Azerbaijani law enforcement organs. No way can we carry out our tasks in the conditions of the state of emergency and curfew without the local militia. They know people and they know the city. We did not quite hit it off at first. But the commandant's office no longer has any problem in its dealings with the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry.

Central Press Continues Reportage of Events

'Changing Situation'

LD2701210490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS Report "On Situation in Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Rayon committee has resumed work in the city of Udzhara. This fact and the reports about people being admitted to the party again in a number of rayons of the republic as yet figure rarely among the news from the republic, but they are already characteristic features of the changing situation. No serious breaches of the public order were recorded in Baku last night. Filling stations for public and office transport vehicles opened in the daytime.

Part of trolley-bus and bus fleet began to function in the city. The number of newspapers on sale increased. "KOMMUNIST" and "VYSHKA" as well as central newspapers appeared in news-stands. Republic television resumed broadcasting at 1900 [1600 GMT] on January 27. The broadcasting began with a televised address by Ayaz Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

In conversations at small, spontaneous rallies near underground railway stations, at railway and bus terminals, along with the discussion of every kind of rumors and expressions of concern, opinions are also voiced that "extremists from the Azerbaijan People's Front betrayed the people and pushed them to bloodshed" while those who are guilty of that "are evading responsibility and continue to call for further bloodshed."

Individual calls for a continuation of bloody strife are not supported and the population's attitude to them is extremely negative.

Order does not come by itself. It is restored through the joint efforts of military authorities, law and order maintenance agencies, and the local public.

One of indicators that tension is subsiding is the sharp decrease in the number of Russian-Speaking people leaving Baku. It is significant that placards with inscription proclaiming "We do not want the Russians to leave" have appeared at meetings. People of various nationalities are looking for mutual understanding and dialogue.

The elimination of the criminal military structure of the Azerbaijan Popular Front is being continued. Many Baku residents regarded with relief reports that a number of leaders of terrorist groups have been detained. But some of the masterminds of terror are still in hiding.

In Lenkoran, the Popular Front branch announced that it resigns its powers. Local radio urged the population to hand in weapons to state power bodies. People turned in 300 units of firearms and 180,000 cartridges.

However, the so-called Lenkoran Defense Committee formed a group of militants that refused to surrender arms and tried to hide in the mountains. On the outskirts of Lenkoran they engaged in fighting against a detachment of servicemen.

A Soviet Army officer and five terrorists were killed in the gun-battle. Fifty-two units of firearms, a large amount of ammunition and three mortars were seized. More than 50 armed terrorists were detained.

Hostages, captured by opposing groups earlier, are returning home. In Khanlar district, 17 Armenians and 22 Azerbaijanis were freed.

As people become increasingly aware of the true causes of the dramatic events, there are mounting demands among the population to call to account the organisers and inciters of inter-ethnic discord.

Tension is subsiding in the residential areas of Armenia. Enterprises, transport and the every-day service sector

are functioning normally. On 27 January Kirovakan residents had a day of voluntary work. For the first time after the earthquake, all operating enterprises of the city worked in two shifts.

At the same time the formation of militant groups does not cease in the republic.

At a meeting in Yerevan's Theatre Square on 25 January, leaders of informal organisations tried to distort the meaning of measures being taken to stabilise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

Border troops are taking the necessary measures to strengthen the border regime. The personnel of units display restraint and act adroitly and competently in extreme conditions.

Over the past twenty-four hours, 38 border crossers from Iran have been detained. In the Lenkoran and Prishib border sectors, 1,941 people were let through, of them 1,246 to Iran. An incrasing interest of the authorities of districts and civilian population in restoring law and order at the border is apparent.

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia is having an impact on all regions of the country. Central party and soviet organs, newspapers, and other media are receiving thousands of telegrams in which Soviet people are expressing their approval of the measures to prevent bloodshed.

Baku, Lenkoran 29 Jan

PM2901161690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Special correspondent Igor Andreyev report: "Baku, 29 January"]

[Text] Last night shooting was heard in the Krasnyy Vostok district. In the morning urban transportation was virtually at a standstill and the majority of Baku people did not go to work... All the same, life in the republic capital is returning to normal.

As we have already reported, Azerbaijani television has resumed broadcasting on one channel so far, the third. The people of Baku, starved for information, saw on their television screens for the first time in more than a week, on the program "Vremya," what is happening in the Transcaucasus now. I noticed how the television crews were filming in the city. At present the atmosphere in which this took place clearly indicates in itself that life is returning to normal. Naturally, the filming in the streets aroused interest and took place to the accompaniment of heated disputes, but no one placed any obstacles in the journalists' paths. On the contrary, people clamored to suggest what the reporters should relate.

On the same evening, 27 January, A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, spoke on television. Appealing to his compatriots, he called on them to return to normal working life. He reminded them that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum formed a commission which is to analyze the causes of the tragic events in Baku in order to formulate a political assessment and adopt appropriate measures.

What takes courage in Baku today? To try to start up a great city's economic mechanism at your workplace, or, on the contrary, as its military commandant reports, to go round apartments forbidding people, under the threat of reprisals, to set about their work, to lay down your arms, or to continue to inflict base blows on the army on the sly? This is by no means a rhetorical question: For 3 days the military authorities have been trying to find the slightest trace of Colonel G. Petrov, who mysteriously disappeared. While accompanying a military column from Derbent to Baku, after his car broke down, he transferred to an accompanying armored carrier. But then... It is not yet known what kind of "accompanying vehicle" it was that turned up, and whether it belongs to the troops at all.

The three members of informal groups who were delivered to Baku yesterday from the republic's backwoods will also need courage. I saw these frightened, middle-aged men and spoke with them in the helicopter where they were guarded by hefty paratroopers. The investigation will clarify their fate, but first of all they themselves must grasp this: Are they, or are they not, guilty before their own people? Because even a word could have the force of a shot in Baku in January.

Waiting for the helicopter, I sat on the stands at the army sports club stadium, which is right behind the fence at the troops' headquarters. Now it is a helicopter pad constantly receiving the machines that hurry in on urgent military business. Heavy infantry combat vehicles on the running tracks, the flight control panel by the long-jump pit, paratroopers.

From the latest reports transmitted by TASS—Pamphlets calling for civil disobedience are still being distributed. Thus at the Shmidt Plant, where one of the extremists' "headquarters" was located, some 10,000 provocative pamphlets were seized.

The population assessed positively the massive importation of fuel by the troops to Baku's service stations to supply ambulances, motor transport, and food industry and trade enterprises.

Lenkoran—The activity of party and soviet organs has resumed. The city is calm and enterprises, organizations, and institutions are working. A meeting of the party aktiv and the city's working people with commanding officers and political workers of the border detachment took place in Lenkoran. Concrete measures to stabilize the situation were drawn up jointly. Extremists who tried to hamper this process were evicted from the premises by the city dwellers themselves.

Khanlar—As a result of energetic publicity work among the population on 26-27 January the "defense committee" militants began to surrender their arms. An armored carrier, an infantry combat vehicle, 12 hail guns, 97 submachineguns, 4 carbines, and 47 smallbore rifles have been returned. The search for and surrender of weapons are continuing in other parts of the republic too. No criminal investigation measures are being applied to persons handing in weapons voluntarily.

Nakhichevan—AZERINFORM's correspondent was told by the oblast party committee that the situation in the atuonomous republic is stabilizing. All industrial and construction enterprises and organizations are operating and transport is functioning normally. After a week's break, the oblast newspaper has resumed publication.

In the course of the investigation of the activity of the extremist wing of the Azerbaijan People's Front, the KGB organs have detained F. Allakhverdiyev and N. Asadov, leaders of the Ilichevskiy Rayon People's Front board, who had weapons on them, as well as Kh. Ismaylov, one of the leaders of the People's Front group in Baku, who had a forged passport and identity card. An investigation is in progress.

Baku 27 Jan

PM2901121190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent Igor Andreyev telephone report: "Baku, 27 January"]

[Excerpts] The time is 1100 hours. Outwardly everything seems calm in the city, which is suffused today with bright but not excessively warm sunlight. A host of people are on the streets, stores, stalls, and kiosks are open. Vegetables and greens are on sale. Trams have come to a standstill on the rails here and there. Some are moving but with virtually no passengers onboard. People are calmer than several days ago, are inclined to discussions, and surround any fresh face in a flash.

Most of the townspeople reject the introduction of the state of emergency and the troop presence in the city... As though there had been no pogroms or killings the day before! Are there weapons and thugs? Yes, of course. But it is claimed that they are not for combat sorties in Baku but for defensive operations on the borders with Armenia. There is no real information, the vacuum has been filled by conjecture and rumor. People are thus convinced that only totally innocent citizens died on 20 January and later. As though impressive obstructions had not been piled up in the troops' path and there had been no aimed fire at soldiers and servicemen's families... [Passage omitted].

I asked V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister, to comment on the situation that has thus taken shape:

[Bakatin] Certainly, bringing the troops in did stabilize the situation but it did not eliminate (and could not eliminate) the causes of the crisis. There is still tension, I would even say danger, and there are still thousands and thousands of armed thugs. IZVESTIYA has already noticed that the processes run deep.

There are no longer any fierce organized operations by extremists. On the other hand there have been signs of some revival in municipal services' economic activity, which had virtually come to a standstill: Public catering and transport have begun to operate and railroad traffic is also being organized little by little. Business contacts are finally being organized between local organs of law and order and military commandant's offices.

It is important for Azerbaijan's party and soviet authorities to determine precisely their political and civic stance in order for the situation to really improve and for people's state of shock to fade. By expressing a public opinion on the main problems which led to the crisis and through consistent explanatory work among the population they could begin the extremely difficult process of improving the situation. In this context I personally am relying very much on the republic's new leadership led by A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Central Committee.

[Andreyev] What about the thugs and the extremist informal leaders who are inciting them? Will these people respond to the appeal "Down Bayonets!"?

[Bakatin] Some will probably respond. But by and large the demand made by Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku City, for firearms, other weapons, munitions, and explosives to be surrendered voluntarily has not as yet had tangible results. Extremists have gone underground... Certainly, they should have been flushed out and detained and their organizational structures destroyed when the troops were brought in or even before that when they were operating out in the open without concealing themselves or their intentions. The KGB is working closely with us now to neutralize those directly responsible for the tragic events and those in possession of weapons. Possession of weapons, as is well known, is also prohibited by law. We are detaining and arresting these people—this operation has been preceded by very strenuous on-the-spot investigation work. To my profound regret, there have been losses. A young boy—a lieutenant—has just died. He was the 27th casualty among servicemen and members of their families. There have also been deaths among civilians involved in the hopeless adventure by political intriguers.

[Andreyev] Yesterday, Vadim Viktorovich, I visited a militia batallion from Stavropol based at a Baku secondary vocational and technical school. The batallion was transferred to the city 12 January at the height of the pogroms and violence. Men from Stavropol—Captains Eduard Nemytko and Eduard Golovko—told me how before their eyes a mob brought to the rayon militia department an Armenian who had been brutally assaulted and was almost deed. "Is he alive or dead?" a local militiaman asked. On hearing that he was alive, he

uttered an uncouth oath, making no secret of his disgruntlement at this. The captains are convinced that the militia also directed the pogromists to Armenians' apartments.

[Bakatin] You cited this incident from a trustworthy source and I am not about to deny it. This happened, unfortunately and to our shame. This is a disgrace to the militia. But I can cite many incidents when the militia saved Armenians and they sought refuge in rayon offices from an enraged mob. Believe me, this was no easy thing to do and required exceptional courage. The militia offered the victims of the pogroms medical assistance, evacuated the refugees, and did a great deal that should have been done by the authorities, which were paralyzed at that time. I would not voice a bad opinion of the Azerbaijani militia, but I must admit that there were people in its midst who betrayed the interests of the service and forgot their duty to defend citizens. We are investigating every incident... [Bakatin ends]

Latest reports say that in the past 24 hours 106 people have been arrested for breaching the curfew. Some 81 firearms have been confiscated since the state of emergency was introduced. According to figures as of the morning of 27 January, 101 civilians had been killed or had died of their injuries and approximately 400 citizens had been wounded or injured.

Azerbaijan Mission Incident

PM2901182590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed article: "Once Again About Incident in Downtown Moscow"]

[Text] In the article "Shots in Downtown Moscow" (IZVESTIYA no. 28) the chief of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration Political Administration confirmed the rumors which have spread around the capital of a shooting in the region of the Azerbaijan permanent mission. True, General L. Belyanskiy was unable to cite any details of the incident—he only reported that an investigation is under way....

That article gave rise to a mass of false interpretations. As soon as the newspaper hit the streets the editorial office was inundated with telephone calls, with people asking for light to be shed on the situation. Our correspondent set out for the scene of the incident and met with Z. Rustam-zade, Azerbaijan's deputy permanent representative in Moscow.

He said that at around midnight (the night of 25-26 January) the permanent mission building was actually subjected to an attack involving shooting, fighting, and so forth, that a militia detail drove up following a call from him, and that there then followed a new armed attack, the checking of documents, and the detention of some permanent mission officials. Incidentally, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA gave quite a detailed account of this affair.

After listening to that story, we turned to practically all Moscow's law-enforcement organs for explanations.

What actually happened? At 2303 hours 25 January the duty officer at Moscow's Internal Affairs Main Administration received a call from the permanent mission of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic about attempts by persons unknown to penetrate the permanent mission building. At the same time the permanent mission rang around foreign correspondents, inviting them to "witness the fact of an attack."

The foreign journalists who arrived at the scene of the incident were not admitted to the building. In the street they saw reinforced militia details which had arrived following the call from the permanent mission, as well as a damaged vehicle with a smashed side window, which had been detained by the State Automobile Inspectorate for a gross violation of traffic regulations. After resisting the militia, Sabir Shabanov, the driver of this vehicle, sought shelter in the building. It was this incident that served as the basis for spreading rumors of an attack on the permanent mission.

Now explanations about the "detention of officials."

At 0238 hours 26 January the law-enforcement organs, which possessed information that E. Mamedov, whom they were hunting, was hiding in the permanent mission building, ordered that he be detained in accordance with a prosecutor's authority.

There was information that Mamedov was armed and accompanied by militants. Such data provided legitimate grounds for inspecting the permanent mission's premises. At that moment 43 men were there. Since Mamedov had concealed his real name and, moreover, had shut himself in one of the rooms, the locked premises had to be inspected and the documents of all the men who were in the building had to be checked. As a result, Mamedov was detained and delivered to the investigative organs, where he named himself.

About the shots. We were told that in both the first instance and the second no shots were fired.

What have we been told about the detainee? Mamedov Ekhtibar Selidar ogly, born 1955, an Azerbaijani from Baku City and one of the leaders of the so-called "National Defense Committee" of the Azerbaijan People's Front, played an active role in inciting massive antisocial, extremist actions, disrupting the work of enterprises and transport, and fueling discord between the republic's Azerbaijani and Armenian population, and he organized the armed picketing of main transport arteries with the aim of preventing military subunits getting through.

At 1200 hours 25 January, at a news conference for foreign journalists on the premises of this permanent

mission, Mamedov delivered the following ultimatum: "If the troops are not withdrawn from Azerbaijan in the next 2-3 days, the People's Front will begin a partisan war and give the Russians a second Afghanistan!"

We were also interested in TASS information that "rumors circulated by the Azerbaijani permanent mission in Moscow on thousands of dead... are a cynical lie."

We have also learned that the Azerbaijani permanent mission in Moscow has not only been extremely successful in falsifying information about the true situation in the republic by sowing rumors and conjectures. The impression is formed that, contrary to its status, it has become a branch of the Azerbaijan People's Front in Moscow. Its premises are being made available for various meetings, rallies, and news conferences at which tendentious, unsupported information on events in the republic is given out. All this has contributed to Azerbaijanis resident in or visiting Moscow being drawn into antisocial, unlawful actions.

That is what happened on this occasion, too.

At 1200 hours 26 January members of the permanent mission once again invited foreign journalists and diplomats to the scene of the incident. But this time, unlike the nighttime invitation, journalists were courteously allowed into the building, where they were given a picture of the "barbaric pogrom." As they did not feel it possible on this occasion to inform the competent authorities, they, in turn, are leaving this dramatization on the conscience of the permanent mission personnel.

That is the story.... It seems that the Internal Affairs Main Administration was somewhat hasty with its appraisals when commenting on this incident in our newspaper.

Reports From Baku, NKAO

PM2901155390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Captain 2d Rank O. Odnokolenko report: "From Baku to Kubatly"]

[Text] I would like to begin this report from Baku with a correction. The details of a nighttime battle in the region of Baku Maritime Station, about which the newspaper wrote 27 January, have been ascertained more precisely. The ship which approached from the roadstead at the height of the operation and opened machinegun and submachinegun fire on the landing forces was the "Vodoley-4." It was fire from that ship that wounded two servicemen, not from the "Neftegaz-30," as reported in the first account. Fire for effect was opened on the "Vodoley-4"—after which it retreated deep into the roadstead.

The skies were clear over Baku 26 January, and that night was the second peaceful night.

We donned flak jackets all the same. The situation remained unclear in the places to which the group of internal troop staff officers was flying. The group in fact consisted of three people. I knew well one of them, who suggested this flight to me—Colonel Vitaliy Mikhaylovich Otroshchenko. Our itinerary was Baku-Khanlar-Lachin-Stepanakert-Kubatly-Baku.

Here was a trench and a dugout shelter—a so-called sentry post—and shrewdly equipped emplacements girdled the next hill. A shepherd with a flock seemed an alien phenomenon of long-gone years in this front-line landscape. Just think: Armenians and Azerbaijanis have used not only small arms but also captured armored personnel carriers, tanks, and even artillery. Overflying the settlement of Azizbekovo, we saw an entire battalion of hail-suppression guns confiscated from guerrillas. However, as far as is known, five hail-suppression guns still have the camp [gorodok] in their sights.

"But this is already not so terrible," A.B. Leshchenko said. "You should have been here a few days ago, when we were under a total blockade."

Indeed, the local branch of the Azerbaijan People's Front has crushed all power in the rayon beneath itself, including the organs of law and order. Lists of addresses of servicemen's apartments and lists of those to whom specifically these apartments are to pass have already been posted up at the rayon soviet executive committee. A certain Babayev, chief of the local militia branch, has been particularly diligent. He intimidated people by saying that 25,000 guerrillas would soon arrive here and sweep aside everything in their path. But the unit commander proved to be both a good tactician and a skilled diplomat. No shots rang out in the camp. What is more, the school even functioned during all these days. True, it was their own school, organized in the camp. On the initiative of the women's council, wives of officers and ensigns distributed tea, cigarettes, and food to the posts for soldiers on continuous duty.

Lachin lies on a slope. The pilot chose a landing site on the river floodplain. A group of men looked curiously down on us from a crag. They entered the conversation with interest and were themselves open and friendly. It turned out that newspapers are not getting through here, and the television does not work. But emissaries of the People's Front have already managed to come and have brought, like little birds, the most unlikely rumors of events in Baku.

We only refueled in Stepanakert. In the meantime we chatted with "the Air Force." The pilots spoke of inflammatory broadcasts by Shusha television. I had read of this in a recent issue of the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH too.

The airmen have already incurred losses. When helicopters were firing on an armored personnel carrier captured by extremists, one of the machines was hit by a

burst of machinegun fire. Lieutenant N. Pavlov was seriously injured. He has been moved to Moscow for treatment.

Our first meeting in Kubatly was with Military Commandant Major V. Zagiyev, commander of a subunit of the so-called raspberry berets. They had come through several obstacles, in the sights of mortars and machineguns. Much blood might have been shed but for the skill of the officer of internal troops.

The guerrillas' very real strength, mostly from elsewhere—from Sumgait—awaited the raspberry berets in Kubatly. They were headed by a certain T. Aliyev, a militia major. For a while he made officials sign illegal decisions under threat of arms. But on the eve of the events in Baku the guerrilla and his gang were urgently called away to lend a hand.

"There are now approximately 1,500 guerrillas here," the military commandant reported. "But Aliyev claimed that he could place up to 3,000 under arms in the space of 24 hours. Presumably it was in order to inspect this army that M. Gadzhiyev, member of the Azerbaijan People's Front 'Defense Council,' traveled to Kubatly. He was dressed in a camouflage uniform and a colonel's sheepskin cap. He explained that the People's Front had conferred the rank of colonel on him. The raspberry berets did not have great difficulty disarming the 30-year-old 'strategist.'"

While I was forwarding this material to the editorial office, it became known that a group of leaders of the local Azerbaijan People's Front branch, which had seized power in Lenkoran, had been arrested in the city 26 January. A lieutenant of the airborne forces died while carrying out the operation.

Freight Arrival in Stepanakert

PM2901135390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "In Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 26 Jan—Residents of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast center were pleasantly surprised today to learn that intercity telephone communications had been restored. Another joyful piece of news was a report that 2 freight trains of 76 cars, including food cars, had arrived at the railroad station. Fifty-one cars with ready produce left Stepanakert today.

This is already the 2d day that route buses have been going to the oblast's rayon centers—Mardakert, Martuni, and Shusha. Until recently passengers had to travel too great distances in order to reach these population centers. Today buses with Armenian passengers can bypass Azerbaijani villages, albeit escorted by the military. Azerbaijani buses bypass Armenian population centers. In order to fully lift the vehicular blockade of the oblast, it remains for the military to clear the road linking Stepanakert, Shusha, Lachin, and Goris.

'Extremists' on NKAO Highway

PM2901120790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent N. Belan telephone report: "Breach in Blockade"]

[Text] Gyandzha, 26 Jan—This is the first time that I have seen people shooting at me. I have heard bullets winging over my head prior to this—in Afghanistan—but there they were coming from the mountains. Yesterday I was about 10 meters away from the sniper, he was standing on the highway and sunk two short bursts from a submachinegun into our vehicle, virtually without taking aim. I saw his face but it did not register in my memory, I only remembered his lips—thin and tightly compressed... However, everything in the right order.

...Heavy, fluffy snow was falling—the same as last year. Then, on my first trip to Stepanakert, I was writing about the beginning of the work of the Committee for the Special Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Today a state of emergency has been declared in the autonomous oblast and the surrounding areas of Azerbaijan and we were flying in to see Major General V. Safonov, who has just taken on the post of military commandant of this region. We met him in the commandant's office. Vladislav Nikolayevich took us to a map that covered the entire wall and outlined the situation.

"The highway blockade is continuing, and motor transport is not functioning," he said. "There is no end to the shooting. Thugs are infiltrating using helicopters without identification—for instance, 22 January they landed in Shusha, Agdam, Khodzhaly, Malybeyli, and Gerevent. According to up-to-the-minute data, weapons and ammunition are being manufactured at plants in Agdam and Stepanakert. Unauthorized rallies are continuing—party cards were ostentatiously incinerated in Shusha 20 January and Agdam 22 January. Our top-priority task now is to lift the blockade on the highways."

[Belan] "What kind of obstacles are there on the highways?"

[Safonov] "Not the usual kind—hedgehogs, pyramids, and roadblocks. But there are automobiles and heavy equipment loaded down with rubble in all the chicanes and ravines—at the required moment they rapidly emerge from their hiding places and spray the highway. This mobility is a new element in the detachments' actions."

"What are we doing now?" Vladislav Nikolayevich continued. "Yesterday, 23 January, a large body of troops was moving along the Shusha-Stepanakert-Askeran-Agdam route. A second group was also traveling in the direction of Yevlakh; beyond it a troop train—which had been under blockade for 4 days—was standing at the station. They lifted the blockade and returned at 0700 hours today."

[Belan] "What is the situation like in Stepanakert?"

[Safonov] "Much quieter. Although the fact that we hoisted the Azerbaijani flag is very indicative. This would have provoked a stormy reaction before. I would also point out the local population's very good attitude to the military —these ordinary people see us as their protectors."

We also spoke to Maj Gen Safonov about breaches of the law.

"Unfortunately, they are still occurring, both on the Azerbaijani and on the Armenian side. There are thugs on both sides. We have captured more than just an isolated few."

We spoke to many people in Stepanakert about the soldiers' hard life in the emergency zone. This discussion began with Maj Gen Safonov, then there were meetings at subunits. Incidentally, most of the personnel here are Russians.

"Splendid guys," Colonel V. Sechenykh, chief of the political department at the commandant's office, said of them. "Their main quality is their well-developed sense of internationalism, and that is why they have the right understanding of what is happening, why they are not just keeping order but also bringing their understanding of internationalism to people. Contacts with the local population are very lively; people with no objective information are drawn to them."

For several days now Central Television programs have not been relayed here, and for several months newspaper deliveries have been erratic if not nonexistent. When we arrived here, we brought food and the latest newspapers for the troop units. "Soyuzpechat" obviously lacks the facilities to do this. Thus the soldiers and officers are now the best informed people here.

I asked Col Sechenykh the following question: Are many people offended by the use of the word "extremist." Both Azerbaijanis and Armenians have told me that there are no extremists in our country.

"How then are we to describe those people who are putting up most embittered resistance and shooting at convoys, even though we give them no cause," Vladimir Mikhaylovich replied. "Shots are also being fired against people whom we are protecting. Rocks and gasoline bombs are hurled at the vehicles we use to transport people—both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Who is doing this, if not extremists and bandits? Our people are also suffering—1 officer has been killed and 12 enlisted men and officers have been injured during these events."

On Thursday we decided to make our way from Stepanakert to Gyandzha in armored reconnaissance vehicles. Before our departure we once again had a brief meeting with the rayon's military commandant.

"I met with representatives of the Agdam People's Front," he said. "As a result I gleaned the impression that a stratification process has begun among them. The truly sensible forces' positions are very clear. There are many of them, and that makes me glad. Some favor restoring order, and I even heard the following request for the first time: Set up your garrisons in such-and-such a village."

"In the course of the talks," the commandant continued, "an accord was secured to admit trains—that is, the railroad blockade will be lifted. One more thing: We have agreed to more passenger services. But we realize that there may be provocations. That is why we are already taking steps. In Agdam Comrade Abasova, chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee, said yesterday that when calls began to be heard at a rally for party cards to be surrendered, she asked one of these rabble-rousers the following question: 'Are you a party member?' 'No.' 'Well, what do you have to surrender? Why are you inciting others?' 'I am, and always will be a Bolshevik,' she said. 'Only death will prise my party card from me.' Do you know, after that speech on the square several people came to the rayon party committee and apologized, saying that they had surrendered their party card only for safekeeping."

...Here is the highway out of Stepanakert. A difficult road, under bombardment along one stretch. Certainly, everything here is less than easy, although there are increasingly clear and profound improvements. But I believe that the time will come very soon when I can travel along this road on a public bus and can send the kind of dispatch that is so much wanted here.

Arrest of Azerbaijan Activist

PM2901130390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS and ARMENPRESS roundup: "Situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Law and order organs arrested E.S. Mamedov, an activist of the Azerbaijan People's Front so-called "National Defense Committee" wanted for inciting people to acts of extremism, in Moscow 26 January. Born in 1955, he came to Moscow from the city of Baku to prepare antisocial actions involving Azerbaijani nationals living in the capital.

An investigation is under way.

Yerevan, 26 Jan—As a result of prompt actions by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] KGB, a particularly dangerous criminal, R. Simonyan—born 1946 and a resident of Yerevan—was arrested yesterday in the republic's capital. While in Volgograd he organized a criminal group which engaged in violent extortion.

Taking advantage of the worsening of the situation in the Transcaucasian republics along with his extensive contacts in the criminal world, Simonyan went to Yerevan, where he hid in private apartments.

The criminal was arrested as a result of a joint operation with the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Munitions and drugs were confiscated from him. During his arrest Simonyan tried to pass himself off as a patriot whom state security organs were allegedly intending to deport to Azerbaijan.

Commenting on the overall situation, Major General V.G. Badamyants, chairman of the Armenian SSR KGB, said that the republic's security officers are conducting a resolute struggle against criminals who are trying to exploit the complex political and economic situation in the Transcaucasus.

I would note that the process of handing over weapons seized previously is currently under way in the republic. However, the general went on to say, I would like to draw your attention to the following point: It is mainly smoothbore shoulder arms that have been surrendered. They are, unfortunately, still keeping their hands on combat weapons.

Violence Against Armenians

PM2901135190 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Jan 90 p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report under general heading: "First Good Signs"]

[Text] According to figures from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Health Ministry, as of 27 January the number of people killed since the start of the events stood at 125, including 27 servicemen and staffers of law and order organs.

Rear Admiral V. Lyashenko, commander of the Caspian Flotilla, told your TASS correspondent the following:

"Unfortunately, tragedy has hit the flotilla too. The situation started heating up from mid-January. Initially the extremists demanded that the Armenian doctors and nurses working in the hospital be handed over to them. They then demanded that the memorial plaque to S. Shaumyan be removed from the flotilla's Officers' Center. We refused, of course. But the extremists bided their time, and on the terrible night of the pogrom one of our staffers—an Armenian girl—was raped in front of children, while another staffer's father was murdered and her mother injured. One of our officers was flung out onto the street simply for renting a room with an Armenian family."

Now, after the operation to clear the blockade of the port of Baku, the situation is getting back to normal. The members of the Caspian Flotilla have embarked on fulfilling their direct duties of protecting the country's maritime boundaries.

Yerevan Life 'Being Reestablished'

PM2901121590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

[Roundup by special correspondents A. Krayniy, D. Muratov, and A. Khantsevich: "Transcaucasus, 26 January"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—[Passage omitted] ...Spraying up wet snow, the UAZ jeep crossed the border into Armenia's Araratskiy Rayon. The faces of Major General M. Surkov, chief of the Yerevan Garrison Political Department and USSR people's deputy, and Colonel Yu. Nauman, senior inspector at the Ground Forces Political Directorate, became appreciably more animated.

"Life is nonetheless being reestablished," the general said, nodding toward the roadside.

A couple of days ago, this road was blocked by throngs of excited people, usually armed, and bonfires blazed at night. Inhabitants of nearby villages left their homes and joined the local vigilantes [opolchentsy]. Depressing news came from the border and from time to time sounds of shooting and artillery fire were heard from the direction of Yeraskh.

People here have come to recognize Surkov's vehicle these days. They drove to and were freely admitted to the hottest spots. Voluntarily taking on the mission of organizer and mediator in the talks, Mikhail Semenovich managed to display tact, restraint, and, when needed, a general's determination. But sometimes it was not only armed guerrillas that he had to persuade. When, say, an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee secretary said that he had no intention of entering into talks until the appropriate "level" was ensured on the Nakhichevan side, Surkov's reaction was instantaneous: He was prepared to meet with anyone at all and sit with them till morning provided that shots were not heard and blood was not shed during that time. [Passage omitted]

The general's UAZ jeep will still rush around on both sides of the border on many more occasions. Agreements, conditions, mutual concessions... the meeting place was surrounded by a company of submachinegunners. Finally, after a 2-hour delay, Nakhichevan's representatives arrived. This time Nakhichevan was represented by F. Turkeli, member of the Azerbaijan People's Front Mejlis, and A. Ragimov, member of the Nakhichevan People's Front Board, while the Armenian side was represented by B. Ararktsyan, member of the Armenian National Movement Board, and A. Akopyan, member of this movement. It might have seemed to an outsider that friends of long standing were meeting. But the two submachinegunners in the corners of the room where the parliamentarians sat down recalled the real situation.

General Surkov conducted the talks in his own fashion—he did not foist readymade decisions on the participants and heard out their various arguments, but he did not allow the participants to lapse into mutual attacks or to

revive old grievances. When is a cease-fire possible? What is known about the fate of the hostages? Can the railroad between Nakhichevan and Armenia begin to operate at last?

Alas, not all the questions would be answered that day. The extremely hard and tense dialogue lasted more than 2 hours and it seemed at times that there would simply be no compromise. Finally the main result was achieved: Both sides would cease fire as of today's meeting. The order for this was given immediately. There were other pleasing agreements: The sides agreed to withdraw armed formations from the entire border, resume bus links in the immediate future to the Nakhichevan village of Kyarki, which is on Armenian territory, and carry out a joint inspection trip along the border...

"Better a bad peace than a good war," Surkov said on the way back, wearily leaning back against the car seat. A diplomatic mission does not come easy to generals.

Baku—Journalists have had a meeting with USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov. The minister answered journalists' questions. Inter alia, he spoke about the validity of the introduction of the state of emergency in Baku, since, according to him, the Azerbaijan People's Front planned to seize power 20 January. By that time all troop units in the city, along with highways leading into the Azerbaijani capital, were blockaded. Party and soviet organs were losing power.

The defense minister said that the troops were not the first to use weapons. Shots were fired only in retaliation. Thus, for instance, the units blockaded in the Salyanskiy Barracks opened fire only after the first losses.

As for weapons, those who fired on the troops did have weapons. Weapons were seized from rayon militia departments and sporting societies. In all, as of today 40,000 weapons, including hunting rifles, are concentrated in the hands of the republic's population.

"Could the state of emergency have been introduced 13-14 January?" the minister was asked.

He replied that this was technically infeasible since there were not enough troops at that time. In fact that is why it was decided to draft reservists into the Army. They are better trained that young soldiers, Yazov pointed out. But, as is well known, those who were mobilized are now returning to their homes.

The situation in Baku and the republic is still tense. The commandant's patrols are coming under fire. Shots were fired from several city hospitals, Comrade Yazov said, against servicemen 20 and 21 January. This was done to make the troops return fire. But the provocation did not work.

"Why weren't special means used when the troops were brought into the city?"

In the defense minister's opinion, the use of special means is useless in the open air, and in any case Soviet Army units do not have them. They are only at the disposal of the internal troops.

As for the state of emergency and curfew, they will be lifted, the defense minister noted, according to the situation, when life in the city and the republic returns to normal and when people are no longer afraid.

In the last 24 hours mass rallies have been held in many areas of Azerbaijan to discuss the events of the past week.

Mass surrender of party and Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] membership cards is continuing in the republic. In Nakhichevan Autonomous Oblast five rayon Komsomol organizations have announced that they are leaving the All-Union Komsomol. This decision was adopted at extraordinary rayon committee plenums.

Virtually all the republic's cities and rayons are wholly or partially in the grip of strikes. Some 400 enterprises have stopped work in Baku. Only a few facilities with a continuous production process are still operating.

Publication of the Azerbaijan People's Front newspapers AZADLYG and AZERBAYDZHAN was suspended today. Lieutenant Colonel (Militia) A. Sorokovykh showed us the piles of military uniforms seized at Azerbaijan People's Front headquarters. The command post for the armed extremist groupings, which was in a Baku transport agency building, has been eliminated. Forty leaders of these groups were captured.

Yesterday Colonel General K.I. Kobets, chief of USSR Armed Forces Communications, met with representatives of Azerbaijan's communications services. Talks were held about restoring the normal communications but were unsuccessful. A military communications headquarters was set up in the city this morning.

...Names feature in this tragedy. We visited the military hospital. We read the list of fatalities. Private D.V. Kulakov sustained a gunshot wound to the chest; Senior Sergeant S.N. Pyatakov sustained wounds to the head, arms, and extremities; Senior Lieutenant A.V. Suvorov sustained a bullet wound; Reserve Private P.A. Borisov was killed 22 January while escorting a convoy of servicemen's wives and children. The list goes on and on and on....

According to our figures, 21 servicemen have died in Baku in recent days. Tragedy has befallen their families. Tragedy has befallen the families of the dead Azerbaijanis. [Passage omitted]

Interregional Group Briefing

PM3001102390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 p 1

[O. Kuchkina article: "Parliament in Recess..."]

[Text] A news conference on the problems of the Transcaucasus was staged for Soviet and foreign journalists yesterday by the USSR Interregional Group of Deputies.

Taking part in it were USSR People's Deputies Yu. Afanasyev (Moscow), N. Medvedev (Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic), S. Ryabchenko (Kiev), and A. Sobchak (Leningrad), as well as I. Bisher, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, who had been invited along.

Deputy S. Stankevich (Moscow) in the chair briefed those present on the meeting held at the Interregional Group's initiative with A. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

"Probably the main thing to come out of the meeting," S. Stankevich said, "is that there are huge untapped reserves for interethnic reconciliation. These reserves also lie in relations between republics at government level—relations which, to our mind, have been clearly underused. An institution such as the Soviet of Nationalities is designed by its very nature, under the Constitution, to resolve these conflicts, yet for some reason it has not yet become involved in them. It seems to us on the whole that the Supreme Soviet too could play a far more significant role in settling the conflict. A situation whereby the country is gradually sliding into civil war while its parliament is in recess is paradoxical and unacceptable. Moreover, there is the level of interrepublic relations in general, and channels such as people's diplomacy. It would be natural for these forces, which really influence the situation, to be brought into play. Why not think about setting up a national reconciliation council in which all parties would participate? Then a way out of the situation could be found far earlier and it would be possible to avoid an escalation of violence."

The deputies talked about the absence [neotrabotannost] of a mechanism for making political decisions on the scale of the introduction of troops—decisions which affect the fate of all peoples of the Soviet Union, and perhaps not only of the Soviet Union—and about the need to clearly indicate the aims of and timetable for the troop introduction. This last idea was expressed in connection with the fact that if it was and is a question of protecting people from violence and ending the pogroms, the relevant steps ought to have been taken far sooner, when the violence started, rather than when the democratic forces of the Azerbaijan People's Front had spoken out against the rotten apparatus (the expulsion of A.-R. Vezirov from the party is convincing confirmation of this). We must deal with reality, the deputies stressed, irrespective of our attitude to certain forces operating in the Transcaucasus—they must all be brought into the talks. The package of measures needed in such cases is "shuttle" diplomacy, a method for consistently bringing the resolution of the question closer, and a "roundtable." The aim is to get out of the prevailing situation by peaceful means while safeguarding citizens' security, irrespective of their ethnic origins or political views. No efforts in this area are superfluous. Bandits, aggressors, and murderers who carry out actions against the civilian population and against people's lives and property—wherever this may happen—should not go unpunished.

The deputies proposed immediately convening a Supreme Soviet session to make decisions on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in order to ensure that the dangers raised by the south of the country do not call into question the work linked with profoundly transforming society.

It is already clear to everyone today that there are no absolutely independent states and there can be none. Even in the event of there being a question of a republic seceding, a relevant mechanism should be worked out to provide for a normal life for people and for the normal functioning of ties which will remain and strengthen still further. Ultimately, it is a question of laying a new foundation for the USSR as part of our common home—initially European and later worldwide. That is the question.

Article on Army's Role

PM2901162090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Pavel Gutiontov article: "The Soldier's Duty and Society's Duty"]

[Text] When your foot feels pinched, you remember your old boots.

The boots of night patrols are now tapping on the asphalt of Baku's streets. Armored carriers stand at the intersections and on the upper approaches to state institutions. The military commandant signs appeals to the city's inhabitants. And for several successive days reports from special correspondents, even when you read then in the newspaper, have smelled not of printers' ink, but of the sharp odor of burned gunpowder.

This is distressing and painful.

Of course, it would be far better for the troops to stay in their barracks, the soldiers to shoot only in the training range, and the combat vehicles to surmount obstacles only on the testing range.

It was not to be, and today it is quite obvious that there was no option but to impose a state of emergency in a Baku that was in the grip of national intolerance. The army had to participate in a dispute where all the arguments of reason and the heart were already exhausted. And it covered a city bleeding from its wounds not merely with the armor of combat vehicles: 18-year-old boys in greatcoats, someone's sons, brothers, lovers—it was, and is to this day, they who are the targets of stones and homemade grenades, they whom the snipers take aim at from the roofs, they who are branded with the "image of the enemy," with all the passion accumulated over the years of perestroyka, by the extremists' leaders.

The protectors need protecting.

I would go even further: The army itself needs protecting.

Needs protecting—if only because whole decades of praise and immoderate eulogies, combined with the almost entirely closed, secret nature of all aspects of army life, prevented the public from learning about the problems that went on accumulating behind the military camps' green gates with their red stars. Learning, and resolving them promptly. The people and the army were indeed united—not as the slogans have it, but in the literal sense of the word, united in, among other things, the social ills that afflicted society. In fact, this was the generally accepted practice, and the Defense Ministry was not very different here from, say, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Transport Construction, or the Ministry of Health.

The years of perestroyka have removed many taboos and brought formerly closed topics out into the open for public discussion. Naturally, the topic of army life was among them, and criticism against bureaucrats in uniform was spoken out aloud, just as it was against bureaucrats in civilian clothes.

The department itself sought to pass off the criticism of the department as criticism of the army as a whole, an encroachment on its honor, and an attempt to undermine confidence in it, "perpetrated deliberately by the mass media and cynical politickers." No doubt that made it easier for those who wanted to shift their own, purely personal errors onto the "common shoulder" in its shoulder straps.

But the military man—whether soldier or officer—who fought honorably and courageously at Qandahar is not to blame for the war, which, as the Congress of People's Deputies concluded, merits "political and moral condemnation." The soldiers burned by that war have the right to look straight in the eyes of anyone they like, and especially they have the right to a bed in a good hospital, a comfortable artificial limb, or a wheelchair. They have every right for no complaints to be made against them, and for their own complaints to be heard respectfully and attentively.

In Baku now, soldiers see banners that say: "Occupiers, go home!" Grave, unjust words that arouse objections and indignation among those who have come to this southern city to protect people and save them—even at the cost of their own lives. "Tbilisi syndrome," as the military say, undermined many people's confidence, both in the Fergana Valley and during the events on the Soviet-Iranian border. But the categorical rejection of "strong-arm tactics" against a peaceful rally, which were also condemned by the Congress of People's Deputies, must not develop into contempt for anyone in uniform. The soldier should receive orders given in strict accordance with the law, all constitutional norms should be observed in the course of the imposition of a state of emergency, but in just the same way he, in fulfilling his duty, should be protected both by the law and by public opinion among his fellow citizens.

It is impermissible for the army's prestige to be shaken, impermissible. The army must be valued, it must be taken care of, so that the soldier is comfortable in his barracks and the seaman in his quarters on the warship, so that the flying officer, during his flight, is not worrying about his family whom he left in a cold hostel with leaky ceilings. The responsibility entrusted to the men in uniform is too high, their role too significant, for it to be permissible to treat without due concern and due respect those who are not only described as, but actually are, the defenders of the Fatherland at any moment of danger.

The army needs protecting. Let us say this now that the soldiers in the tragic Transcaucasus have tried and are trying, at the cost of their own blood, to staunch the blood of their fellow citizens. And now that the officers' families have been evacuated from Baku on a crowded ferry with a little bundle of clothes and R10 in their pockets, while shots rang out from the shore in pursuit of the women and children.

We are not on parade today. The soldiers' shirts have been soaked in sweat, and sometimes—blood. That is a terrible price. It is a debt that society will never be able to repay to the mother who buries her only son.

But that makes it all the more important always to remember this unpaid debt.

Soviet-Iranian Border 'Gradually Stabilizing'

PM2901125990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[F. Ivanov report: "From Soviet-Iranian Border"]

[Text] The situation is gradually stabilizing along most of the Azerbaijan section of the Soviet-Iranian border. People who had previously crossed to foreign territory are being systematically admitted across the border through the entry points organized by the border detachment command and the local authorities.

By 25 January 1,077 people had returned to Azerbaijan via the entry points and 2,052 had returned to Iran. The border guards are taking resolute steps to restore the border regime, arresting and evicting from the areas which they are guarding people attempting to cross the border illegally.

Border detachments' command and political bodies are giving the local population all-around assistance. Thus, servicemen from the border detachment commanded by Captain S. Nikitenko took part in putting out a fire at a collective farm and rescuing children and property. Residents of population centers in Gadrutskiy Rayon have been supplied with fuel, gas, and food.

Contacts with the local population are improving. Officers from the Gadrutskiy border detachment have taken part in 72 rallies and 156 meetings and conversations, including with People's Front representatives. In a number of places it has proved possible to publish in the local ARAZ, BEYZAK, and KHETIKAN certain articles

describing the border troops' operations, along with an appeal from the command to the population. However, the overwhelming majority of local newspapers, television, and radio are in the hands of the People's Front.

Unfortunately, the local population are continuing to enter the border zone in the Nakhichevan border detachment's section and are making attempts to construct a crossing across the Araks River. All these illegal actions are being suppressed.

There have been no deaths or injuries among the border guards.

Border Restoration

PM2901142990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "News From the Border"]

[Text] On the Azerbaijan sector of the USSR state border additional measures are being taken to restore the border regime. Over the past 24 hours 510 people were passed through filtration centers [filtratsionnyy punkt] into the USSR, and 1,445 into Iran.

News is coming in of instances of vigilance and courage displayed by Soviet border guards. A detail comprising Major A. Govorukhin and Junior Sergeants V. Ilyushin and V. Izyumov detained two violators who had attempted to force their way onto USSR territory. Firearms and 153,000 Iranian rials were confiscated from the arrestees.

During the same 24 hours Private A. Shevchenko, serving in a "sentry post" detail, discovered a group of five violators. The border guards used decisive actions to expel the uninvited guests from our country's territory.

Normalization Efforts

PM3001105390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Senior Lieutenant D. Shkurko report followed by commentary by Major General G. Martynov, deputy chief of USSR KGB Border Troops Political Directorate: "Dynamics of Border"]

[Text] Work on fencing off the line of technical structures close to population centers has been completed in the Transbaykal Border District. Thus, the inhabitants of the border region have gained broader access to agricultural land and to the floodplain and course of the border river. This event was preceded by strenuous work by the border district's personnel and by the holding of village meetings in all population centers in the border region.

The definition "protection of the state border under conditions of democratization" has firmly entered the vocabulary of the district's officers in recent years. And this means greater trust in the local inhabitants who have lived in the border region for centuries. Today proposals have already been prepared for Chita Oblast Soviet Executive Committee and the Supreme Soviets of the Buryat and Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, setting forth specific ways to transfer control over observance of the border regime to the local soviets of people's deputies.

"Unfortunately a tendency has become apparent for the development of existing legislation, including border legislation, to lag appreciably behind the development of internal political processes," Major General V.A. Gubenko, district chief of troops, pointed out. "The border troops are always in dynamic motion, always react keenly to a change in the situation, and take steps to normalize it. In this respect the events in our district's sector are not an exception but, rather, confirmation of a general rule."

Indeed, processes of this kind are taking place on many sectors of the USSR state border. Life itself demands this. The events in Nakhichevan and a number of other regions of the Transcaucasus have prompted border guards to accelerate the restructuring of border protection with due regard for today's requirements.

Commentary by Major General G. Martynov, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Political Directorate:

The processes of democratization have now affected all spheres of the border troops' service and combat activity. However, I cannot agree with the journalist's final premise. It is simply inadmissible for us to lag behind the development of events, and all personnel efforts are aimed precisely at forestalling likely tension or contradictions. So it is wrong to imagine that we are waiting for local inhabitants to impose their will on us to the detriment of the border guard service. On the contrary, border guards are themselves actively going to the people, seeking points of contact.

To take the specific situation in the Transcaucasus, border guards have shown goodwill there too. Much has already been said in the central press about this, about the constructive proposals advanced by border guards. It is mostly not our fault that these proposals have not been adopted. Even now our soldiers and officers are maintaining self-restraint, doing everything possible to normalize the situation in the Transcaucasus sector of the state border, turning to local inhabitants for advice, and taking account of their opinions when organizing the service.

Major General Describes Nakhichevan Events

LD2901193490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Now, about the situation on the state border, the sector in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. [video shows broken fences amid snow near river]

The nearest border post is 40 minutes' drive by car from the capital, Nakhichevan. It is just a few hundred meters from the first border post to the Araks. The state border between our country and Iran passes along this river's fairway. The barbed wire fences that have been pushed down and the smashed border fenceposts are all reminders of the events which took place here on 31 December. The Nakhichevanians saw a panacea for many republican problems in the destruction of border installations. But in our view, the cause of today's difficult situation lies in the fact that the same local soviet bodies which are today calling for secession from the USSR were unable to resolve these matters.

What is the border situation today? [video switches to interview with Major General Yu.V.Koloskov of USSR KGB border troops, identified by screen caption]

[Koloskov] Over the past week, events have developed, I would say, in the direction of a stabilization of the situation, or perhaps one could say even better, a mollification of the border situation. At the same time, there are individual elements trying to somehow hinder this, to inflame hostility toward border guards.

[Correspondent] On the far banks, they, the Azerbaijanis, have relatives.

[Koloskov] Yes.

[Correspondent] How are contacts between them to be implemented?

[Koloskov] Places with simplified crossing, and a procedure for simplified crossing, will be established. As soon as all that is in place, as soon as the agreements exist, all these practical questions will be tackled as the second step.

Correspondent Views Baku Since Curfew Changes

LD2901173490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 29 January in the "Vremya" newscast carries a 4-minute report by correspondent I. Kudrin on the situation in Baku, Azerbaijan.

Kudrin reports that today has not been the worst Monday in the Azerbaijan capital in the past month. "Working Baku awoke early," Kudrin says, continuing "Luckily yesterday a reduction of the curfew was announced. The streets are busier, with many buses and taxis running. At this point the video shows traffic scenes. "True, in individual places groups of thugs tried to disrupt the work of urban transport," Kudrin notes. He reports that many enterprises and shops are open, as well as post offices and banks. "Above all, enterprises' workshops and the oilfields have come to life. True, when we tried to film the start of the working week at one factory we were asked by the directors not to come in, as it might disrupt work. What was the reason—dread of those forces which have plunged the republic and the big city into interethnic conflict and economic chaos, fear of violating the brittle peace and calm, or mistrust of the media? I think all the same the main reason is a fear which has deeply gripped people, a mistrust, an uneasiness for the fate of their families."

The video next shows Kudrin visiting Bread Combine No 1. He says in the past few days the enterprise did not stop work for a minute. He notes it is a close interethnic collective and things have been difficult in these troubled times but everyone comes to work and has helped to fulfill the plan.

"Many schools have opened their doors," Kudrin says, the video showing a school with young children. "It is the adults' fault that children of Azerbaijan this school year have had too many holidays. Both the upper levels and the youngsters are tired of forced truancies. They have started their studies joyfully and yet many classes are barely a third full." The video shows class with about six pupils. Kudrin continues "Some parents are simply afraid to let their children go to school. Some of the children are simply not in Baku now, like many of the teachers, incidentally. For following the Armenian teachers, Russian teachers have hastily left the city, too." He concludes the report, "So the new week of work and study has begun, although it will be very difficult to achieve the usual pace. There is still tension, unease and uncertainty in the air, but the republic simply has no other way out. One must live, work, and acquire the former confidence."

Moscow Radio Coverage of Transcaucasus Conflict

Civil Disobedience in Baku

LD3001090690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center reports from Baku:

Life and activities in the city are gradually returning to normal. Public transport, trading centers, and services are working. Industrial enterprises are working partially. However, despite the easing in the situation as a whole, a certain tension nevertheless remains. Leaflets are being spread with calls for civil disobedience and the continuation of the strike. Law and order bodies, in cooperation with party and soviet bodies, are undertaking broad explanatory work aimed at stabilizing the situation.

Measures are being taken against anyone violating the established order. over the past 24 hours 36 people have been detained for violating the Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on the state of emergency, and 72 have been detained for breaking the curfew. A watch is being kept on the situation in the city.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast remains complex. Military authorities have detained 13 extremist leaders and organizers of so-called self-defense detachments which had abetted in whipping up interethnic strife, and had for a long time sabotaged the fulfilment of decisions of the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

MVD Chief Interviewed

LD2901174790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Interview with Colonel Nikolay Nikolayevich Prokopenko, chief of section of the Internal Troops Political Directorate, by station correspondent Sergey Omelchenko; date, place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Omelchenko] The situation in the Transcaucasus—Azerbaijan and Armenia—continues to be alarming because of its instability. Even though no particular flareups of hostility or violence have been noted over the last few days, the tension nevertheless remains. The Soviet Army and the Internal Troops constitute the main force today facilitating normalization of the situation in the region. How are things at present? I put this question to Colonel Nikolay Nikolayevich Prokopenko, head of section of the Internal Troops Political Directorate.

[Prokopenko] The situation generally remains complicated. The fact that the situation is under the control of the bodies in charge of protecting law and order, in the capital and all rayons of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic alike, inspires one with a degree of optimism.

Public transporation is operating, in part, in Baku. Public catering establishments have begun to work. After a break, Baku readers have received their newspapers. At the request of the party and soviet bodies, the military commandant decided to reduce the curfew by 1 hour.

[Omelchenko] But surely not everything is all that smooth. There are, nevertheless, alarming overtones, as it were, in this rather optimistic account.

[Prokopenko] It is, above all, the extremist wing of the Popular Front that is exerting a destabilizing influence. Alongside those in the Popular Front who sincerely want to assist the Azerbaijani people in perestroyka, people who subscribe to nationalist and extremist ideas have also found their way into the organization.

[Omelchenko] These are people who are not worried by the fate of the Azerbaijani, the Armenian, or the Russian population?

[Prokopenko] Yes, they have set themselves their own narrow and mercenary goals. As far as they are concerned, they are not worried by the destiny of the country as a whole, or by the fate of their own people. In some rayons of the city they are distributing leaflets in which they appeal for the strikes to continue. But you understand yourself that strikes will in no way help us get out of our situation.

[Omelchenko] What are the Internal Troops doing specifically to normalize the situation?

[Prokopenko] First and foremost, dialogue with those in charge of the Popular Front has been entered into. Joint work is underway to have the hostages released. Already some 60 hostages have been freed by both sides. The population is surrendering weapons and ammunition. In Baku a paper has begun to be printed by the commandat's headquarters. It is called SOLDAT PRAVOPORYADKA. The publication has been organized jointly with the Soviet Militia's magazine. Confidential telephone lines have been set up. People regard the activities of the military commandant's headquarters with understanding. Work is underway to expose the provocative rumors being spread by the extremists to discredit in some way the introduction of the troops, which put a stop to the bloodshed.

Transceivers, Drugs Seized

LD3001114890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center reports from Baku: Forces of law and order are taking measures aimed at stabilizing the situation in the town. Searching for and apprehending criminal elements who took part in pogroms and other unlawful activities is one of the main areas of this work. Thus, during the night 29-30 January, internal affairs bodies and troop detachments carried out an operation during which 11 people were detained. Two radio transceivers and 1,000 grams of narcotics were confiscated from them. An investigation has been started.

Arutyunyan Tours Armenia

LD2601201790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] The heads of party and local soviet bodies, representatives of unofficial movements, and servicemen are taking part in the work to normalize the situation in the areas that abut the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic. The Idzhevanskiy and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons of the republic [Armenia] were visited today by Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. He dwelt in detail on the situation in the Transcaucasus area and spoke of the meeting held in Moscow with the country's leaders. The need for all steps to be taken to stabilize the situation and restore mutual confidence, peace, and good-neighborliness was stressed during the meeting with the working people.

Blockade of Armenia Continues

LD2901203990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] As you already know, comrades, the third economic blockade of Armenia by neighboring Azerbaijan in recent months is in operation. This third blockade has already lasted more than 20 days. The most difficult situation has been developing in the earthquake zone, where over 700,000 people are left practically without shelter during this very cold winter, and it also affects 1.5 million people in Yerevan, the capital of the republic. Today, our correspondent Koryun Khumaryan met Avanes Danilovich (Danelyan), secretary of the Yerevan City Party Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia. Listen to this recording:

[Begin recording] [Danelyan] A most severe blockade. Not a single carriage, not a single fuel car gets through from Azerbaijan. They have control of the gas pipelines, and gas supplies are being cut by practically 50 percent against the usual norm. As a result of the cuts in the load of thermal power stations here, the output of electricity has been reduced sharply. Practically all the industries in town stand idle. In many plans where there is no electricity supply manual work is carried out during the day.

[Khumaryan] But, with all that, when I look at the faces of Yerevan's inhabitants I do not see depression. They stoically bear the difficulties of the blocade.

[Danilyan] Yes, and the main thing—with understanding. To be frank, I admire the courage of my countrymen, and as a party official I sometimes feel uneasy talking with people, answering the questions raised, since at the moment we find ourselves helpless. You know, the state of emergency introduced on the railways practically does not function. How long all this will continue I cannot imagine. [end recording]

TASS Updates Transcaucasus Developments

Factories Operate

LD3001104990 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 30 Jan 90

Moscow January 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondents from the scene of developments:

Life in Baku, the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Nagorno- Karabakh, and other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia is being normalised.

In Baku on Monday, tens of factories operated, some of them at full capacity, others partially. Public transport and the service sector functioned. Reservists set up a public organisation whose members are helping servicemen and law enforcement agencies to ensure law and order in various parts of Baku.

At the same time militant groups still try to hinder measures aimed at resuming and ensuring the operation of factories, transport, educational establishments, and news media. Leaflets calling for continuation of the strike are being distributed.

The Baku commandant called on all residents of the city to prevent the spread of rumours and panic. "The sooner speculations on people's sentiments and any violence against those who want to work calmly end, the sooner Baku residents will return to normal life," he said in a broadcast.

Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov emphasised in an IZVESTIYA interview that troops would remain in Azerbaijan and Armenia until proper order was restored there.

"Calls for civil disobedience, for rampaging and armed resistance to the law and order maintenance forces—all are directed against the stabilisation of the situation and basically contradict the interests of the working class, farmers and intellectuals, and play into the hands of corruptionists, shadow economy dealers and leaders of militant, nationalist circles," SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper emphasises today.

Kheibulla Agayev, an activist of the Azerbaijan Popular Front (APF), laid the blame for the bloodshed on the night of January 19 to 20, when a state of emergency was being introduced in Baku, on the APF leaders. He was given such opportunity on Sunday.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains complex. It is being worsened by a strike which began on Monday. The Stepanakert- Shushua-Lachin-Goris motor road has been cleared through the efforts of Soviet Army units and Interior Ministry troops. Motor traffic resumed along the Stepanakert-Lachin route.

State security personnel detained 13 militant leaders and organisers of the so-called "self-defence detachments" that had a hand in stirring up inter-ethnic strife and sabotaged the implementation of the state-of-emergency decree.

In Armenia, the implementation of the accord to withdraw armed detachments from the border areas of Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic is being continued.

The situation is being complicated owing to socio-economic instability connected with interruptions in the supply of food, fuel and building materials to yerevan and areas affected by the earthquake.

Border troops have practically restored the guarding of the state border throughout the Azerbaijan section of the frontier.

Oil Well Work Resumes

LD2901194290 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Life is returning back to normal in Baku, Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Nagorno-Karabakh and other regions of Azerbaijan.

In Baku, work was fully or partially resumed by tens of enterprises, services and transport. After a ten-day break, workers have resumed overhauling oil wells at the local oil-and-gas association.

"Twenty oil wells were rendered operable by the nightfall," administration head K. Kerimov told TASS. "Of course, the situation cannot be fully rectified with the commissioning of these oil wells alone. We fell behind schedule by more than 10,000 tonnes in the past ten days. At present 650 pumps lie idle, about one third of the total number of oil-wells. They need repairs and equipment replacements. At least three months of intensive work are needed to put them back in service.

The desire to put things straight and make up for January losses is evident also in Kirovneft, Azizbekovneft and other oil-and-gas production associations. Azneft general director A. Djafarov told TASS that the situation is being discussed in work collectives, which are jointly looking for ways out of the dramatic situation.

Reservists have set up a public organisation to help regular Army and Interior Ministry troops maintain law and order in Baku. Weapons continue to be handed in on a voluntary basis in Khanlar District. Over the past 24 hours, 112 guns, including 48 automatic guns and a machine-gun, and 495 firebombs were confiscated by the authorities.

Fewer refugees are now leaving. Understanding of what caused the outbreak of violence and the desire to return to normal life are growing among the population.

At the same time extremist groups are still seeking to disrupt the activities by the military authorities, party and soviet bodies and all healthy forces aimed at resuming work and ensuring the operation of enterprises, transport educational establishments and the mass media.

188 freight trains are at a standstill on the Azerbaijan railways.

"I call on all residents of the city," Baku military commandant's appeal stresses, "not to succumb to acts of provocation and resolutely rebuff all manifestations of nationalism, to prevent the spreading of rumours and panic".

"The sooner an end is put to attempts to bank on the people's sentiments and to violence against those who desire to work in peace, the sooner Baku residents will return back to normal life," the appeal says.

On January 29, a news conference for journalists was held in the building of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee by Republican Central Committee Secretary R. Zeynalov.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains complicated. It is being further aggravated by the strike that began on January 29.

Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops cleaned up and unblocked the Stepanakert-Shusha-Lachin-Goris motor road, traffic resumed between Stepanakert and Lachin. State Security forces detained 13 extremist leaders and organisers of the so-called self-defence groups who incited inter-ethnic strife and sabotaged for a long time the implementation of the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In Armenia armed groups continue withdrawing from the border areas of Armenia and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The situation here is aggravated by the social and economic instability caused by the disruption of supplies of foodstuffs, fuel and construction materials to Yerevan and the earthquake-struck zone.

On January 28, troops recaptured a stolen tank, an armoured personnel carrier and another armoured vehicle, eight truck and wheel vehicles and three hail-control guns.

As a result of vigorous political and administrative measures, border guards have resumed control over the entire length of the state border in Azerbaijan. Attempts by militants to smuggle arms into the country were disrupted. From January 26 to 28, about 400 people were detained for attempts to cross the border illegally. Six packages of contraband were confiscated, including nearly two million of Iranian reals, 300 gold coins and other valuables.

On the whole, the local population and public organisations cooperate in maintaining order at the state border.

Dubinyak on Security

LD2901130290 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Pavel Sinyakov and Vladimir Fomin:

The situation in Baku has been stable during the past twenty-four hours. Most enterprises in the Azerbaijani capital began work this morning, says a communique by the city commandant, Vladimir Dubinyak, circulated today.

Law-enforcement bodies detained three persons for breaches of the law and 65 people for curfew violations. Fifteen people were detained for administrative offences in line with the decree of the USSR Supreme's Presidium on the proclamation of the state of emergency.

The army confiscated a gun and a knife.

In numerous telephone calls to the commandant's office, people are expressing thanks for the explanatory work carried out in the city, which helps people, especially youth, to understand who are the true friends and foes of the Azerbaijani people, the communique read.

"I thank all city residents who exert a stabilising effect on the situation by their behaviour," the commandant said.

Leaflets urging the continuation of strikes are circulating in the city. These irresponsible calls are leading to a new spiral of passions and are directed at heightening tension, Dubinyak pointed out.

"I call on all Baku residents not to yield to provocations, resolutely repulse all manifestations of nationalism and preclude the circulation of rumours and panic," Dubinyak said.

"The sooner the speculation on people's feelings and any coercion with regard to those who want to work in peace ends, the sooner will Baku residents return to normal life," the communique said.

Night Patrol in Baku

LD2901140490 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 29 TASS—By TASS Special Correspondents Pavel Sinyakov and Vladimir Fomin:

It normally takes 15 minutes to walk from the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry headquarters to the party committee of the "Baku Commissars" district.

However, it took us 15 minutes to get there by car. All vehicles are stopped by Interior Ministry troops every 500 meters for thorough checks of documents.

At the entrance to the party committee office, two soldiers, toting submachine-guns, checked our TASS cards and a curfew pass. Finally, we were in the room of commandant of the first sector Igor Rubtsov who allowed us to join a nightime patrol.

Before getting into a car, we were told to put on bullet-proof vests. "It is not yet safe here at night," said Rubtsov.

The patrol started on Neftyanik Avenue. Major Aleksandr Berestov explained that the most volatile areas are under constant control.

In the "Commissars" District, the situation has become much calmer of late, he said. People have realised that soldiers are vigilantly on guard, that they are capable of opposing extremists, Berestov said. The number of provocative acts aimed against troops has gone down.

We talked with soldiers on night duty. Some were conscripted into Interior Ministry troops less than a year ago. Asked if they felt fear, they replied: "No longer: we got used to the situation. Besides, we feel support from our comrades."

At this moment our conversation came to an abrupt end as automatic fire was heard from the side of the Salyany Barracks.

To the accompaniment of the shooting, we continued the patrol. We visited a "filtre-station", [as received] a detention centre for people found out during the curfew without documents.

There are about 15 curfew violators a night. The figure sometimes grows to 30 people and even more. "There is a trend towards the reduction of this figure, however" observed a duty officer.

Said one of those detained: "I went out to walk my dog. The troops found me, and now I'm here. This is a good lesson for me. I bear no grudge against the soldiers. I understand perfectly well that they are fulfilling their orders."

We ended our joint patrol at dawn. The car pulled towards our hotel. We removed the bullet-proof vests and entered the hotel lounge after flashing our documents to guards at the entrance one more time.

Weapons Stolen in Yerevan

LD2901130190 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—A TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov:

The situation in Soviet Azerbaijan is being controlled by law enforcement, interior and Soviet army units, a Soviet Interior Ministry spokesman told TASS today.

Public transport has resumed on many routes. Ninety-nine Armenians have been evacuated from the republic in the past 24 hours. Sixty-five people were detained for curfew violations.

As many as 188 goods trains are still idle, with 117 of them bound for Armenia. Operational army groups are now securing the most vital sections of the Azerbaijani railway.

Two radio sets have been discovered at the Kubatliy settlement in an office of the Azerbaijani Popular Front by security forces. Attempts are being made to establish their sources.

A meeting was held in Evlakh to demand the release of Popular Front leaders, withdrawal of troops from Baku and continuation of the strike.

There have been no inter-ethnic clashes in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic in the past 24 hours. Measures to clear the roads are being taken in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region.

Stolen weapons are being confiscated or returned voluntarily in Armenia. Three anti-aircraft guns, eight hunting guns and 20 pistols have been brought back. An exchange of fire between unknown sniper and Soviet

army servicemen took place in Yerevan during an operation to recapture armoured vehicles and other equiment earlier seized by members of informal organisations. One man was killed and several were wounded. An investigation is under way.

Five revolvers, four pistols, two hunting guns and cartridges were stolen from the Rastr plant stores by a group of armed persons in the Echmiadzin district on Sunday. The village of Kirants, in the Idzhevan district, was fired on from the Kazakh part of Azerbaijan. There were no casualties.

A group of militants, armed with submachine-guns, forced their way into the Yerevan interior department building today and, according to preliminary data, carried away 135 pistols.

Weapons Confiscated in Stepanakert

LD2701212290 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert January 27 TASS—In the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast, activities are being continued to normalise the situation and to prevent unlawful actions on the part of Armenian and Azerbaijani militants.

In Kirkijan, a suburb of Stepanakert, inhabited by Armenians and Azerbaijanis, the military commandant's office for the area covered by the state of emergency and Interior Ministry troops carried out an identity checking operation on Saturday.

Thirty-five people of both nationalities were detained during the operation. Two houses with slits for firing were discovered. There was a large number of cartridge cases from automatic and small-bore weapons found near them.

Weapons were confiscated, including a home-made artillery gun, two unregistered hunting guns, 16 blank weapons and ammunitions. The operation in Kirkijan went off without incidents. Weapons and special means were not used. This was the result of well thought-out purposeful work being done by servicemen and militiamen among residents of the settlement, Armenians and Azerbaijans, most of whom regarded with understanding the measures being taken.

Goods continue to arrive at the Stepanakert railway station. Ninety-six railway carriages, including those with food, arrived at the station on Saturday.

Popular Front Activist

LD2901195390 Moscow TASS in English 1927 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Heibulla Balash Agayev, an activist in the Azerbaijani Popular Front, blamed the leaders of the Front for the death toll on January 20, when the state of emergency was introduced in Baku.

"Their purpose was to prevent the entry of troops into the city and to seize power," he said.

Agayev, detained by law enforcement bodies, asked that he be given an opportunity to appear on tv to tell the truth about the provocative actions by some leaders of the Front. This opportnity was granted to him on Sunday [28 January].

"Leaders of the Azerbaijani Popular Front had enough time to avoid bloodshed," Agayev said. He said that in the afternoon on January 19, leaders of the Popular Front were warned by the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee that troops would arrive in Baku and that opposition would not be tolerated. This warning has not been heeded.

"All it would have taken to avoid the clashes was simply to tell the people: Go home," Agayev said. "Then the loss of life could have been avoided. But the leaders of the Azerbaijani Popular Front simply hid."

Agayev said that during the most critical days in Azerbaijan, the troops route to Baku was blocked by the so-called Defence Council of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, formed on the initiative of the front's leader Neimat Panakhov.

"As far as I know, all roads along which troops could have entered the city were blocked, as well as the administrative buildings—the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the Republic's Communist Party, television, etc. The purpose was to prevent the troops from entering the city and to seize power."

Agayev exposed the lie circulated by some leaders of the Front, specifically by Panakhov, that pogroms of Armenians' dwellings in Baku had allegedly been staged by the KGB and the Azerbaijani Government, who had done so to provoke the bringing of troops.

"I saw for myself pogroms being staged by members of informal organisations, first of all those by Milli Gurtulush Organisations. Everybody is afraid of them. They are extremists. They knew the addresses where Armenians lived," Agayev said.

Blockade of Armenian Rail

LD2901143190 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan January 29 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Garriy Galustyan:

The blockade continues on railway lines to Armenia from neighbouring Azerbaijan.

"Militants in Azerbaijan blockaded the railways almost 20 days ago," Ambartsum Kandilyan, chief of the Yerevan section of the Transcaucasian Railway, told TASS.

Short supplies of food products, fuel and raw materials are leading to a crisis in the republic. Hundreds of freight trains are backed up on Azerbaijan's territory.

Armenia, fenced off by the Caucasian Ridge from the European part of the country, receives the bulk of its cargo by rail from the East—through Azerbaijan, and from the West—through Georgia. The section through Georgia has a limited capacity due to the difficult terrain. Railway communication through Azerbaijan is therefore of vital significance to Armenia.

The blockade has most strongly hit energy supplies: most of factories and plants stand idle, schools have no heat and frequently there is no light in houses in the evening.

The republican government has ordered limited use of energy at every enterprise, and television transmission time has been cut. The Yerevan heat and power plant is not receiving gas, because supplies are not arriving from Azerbaijan.

Fuel stocks at the Razdan thermal electric power station will last for two or three more days. It takes two or three times longer to deliver fuel to the republic because of the blockade.

The problem of heating medical institutions, particularly in the earthquake zone north of Armenia, is growing worse.

Yerevan Radio Reviews Events In, Around Armenia

Weapons Handed In

NC2901131490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1000 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Weapons are continuing to be handed in. Early in the morning yesterday, the telephone rang at the Internal Affairs Ministry's communications department at Yerevan's Yerebunu airport. An unidentified person said there is a package for the militia at the main entrance. When it was opened, it was found to contain 14 pistols seized from this department.

Rafayel Aslanyan, chief of the political department at the Armenian internal affairs ministry, said it has always been dangerous for citizens to possess weapons. He indicated that the return of some seized weapons is a great success for our colleagues who, under difficult and tense conditions, were able to explain things extensively to the population and in particular to the youth living in areas near the airport and were able to convince them of the possible dangers involved in possessing weapons.

The personnel at the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry are conducting similar work these days in virtually all the republic's cities and rayons. The operational files of the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry report with increased frequency that weapons are being handed in voluntarily. Eight pistols were returned to the ministry's communications department at the Shirak airport in Leninakan 2 days ago.

According to ministry leadership, these facts confirm a tendency towards normalizing the situation in the republic. People are feeling sure about their security.

Last week alone, 145 pistols, 22 rifles, 2 carbines, nearly 1,500 hunting guns with more than 1,000 rounds of amunition, 3 armored personnel carriers, 5 training [word indistinct], 1 training grenade launcher, and 2 cross-country vehicles were handed in to the internal affairs ministry.

The republic is still under economic blockade. How are problems related to the economic needs of the people and the functioning of the national economy being dealt with? A reply was given to our colleague's question about this at the republican council for the special situation: Train entry via Azerbaijanian railways has been completely halted since 10 January. The republic failed to receive nearly 450,000 tonnes of goods for the national economy over this period. A particularly critical situation has developed in the supply of fuel-energy resources. All stocks of automobile fuel, diesel oil, and fuel oil have sharply dwindled. Yerevan's (?Firmaelectra) center and Razdan state local power center are under the greatest threat.

Because of a shortage of power, the normal functions of many enterprises and organizations have been disrupted. Some difficulty has also cropped up in supplying gas.

The railway through Georgia has again become the main artery for receiving vital economic goods.

Under these conditions, it is of enormous importance to bolster law and order to the utmost in all our enterprises and organizations and in the whole republic; clear and coordinated work must be introduced, and powerful potential must be mobilized to overcome the prevailing crisis.

Thanks to consistent measures being taken, the situation in the republic is tending to improve. All the spheres of economic life in the republic, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and in the Armenian regions of Azerbaijan are under control. Regular flights are going to Stepanakert, Getashen, and Shaumyanovskiy. Foodstuffs, industrial goods, and medicine are taken there by helicopters. The bus transport connecting Stepanakert with rayon centers has been restored.

The situation in the republic's border regions could at present be described as relatively calm.

Necessary medical aid is still being provided to the population forcibly uprooted from the so-called internationalist capital of the neighboring republic. Yerevan doctors are working in shifts in the Armenian-inhabited regions of Azerbaijan. They have gone there with their equipment and medicines.

A regular truck convoy from fraternal Georgia carrying foodstuffs and clothes to the Armenians of Artsakh [NKAO] arrived in Armenia on 28 January.

Council Meets 28 Jan

NC2901182790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The republican council on the special situation met on 29 January to discuss the incident that took place on 28 January in Yerevan's 26 Commissars Rayon. Reports were submitted by Major General (Ishchev); Nazaryan, procurator of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]; Arutyunyan, Armenian SSR minister of internal affairs; and Asaturyan, first secretary of Yerevan's city party committee.

It was pointed out that without the agreement of the state authorities and the republican bodies concerned, a military contingent resorted to a confiscation of arms and military materiel. During the operation arms were used, and as a result Matosyan, a worker of the Artsakh production union, was killed.

The republic's Procurator Nazaryan, Health Minister Aznavuryan, head (?coroner) Mikaelyan, and high-ranking officials of the law enforcement bodies went immediately to the scene of the incident.

The republic's procuracy has started criminal proceedings and has begun an investigation, together with the military procuracy.

It was deemed necessary to hold a session with the participation of the representatives of the people in order to study the incident in all its aspects. The republic's residents will be kept (?informed) of the results of the investigation.

The republic's leadership decisively condemns this irresponsible act and points out its unalterable stand that all the matters concerning the (?confiscation) of arms should, first and foremost, be solved through persuasion, by serious explanations to the public, and by maintaining (?law and order).

It was pointed out during the session that despite the extremely tense conditions prevailing in Azerbaijan and the (?effects they have) on the situation in the Armenian SSR, the necessary improvement of the situation in the cities and rayons has been achieved through the cooperation of the republic's party, soviet, economic bodies, popular organizations, and the unwanted (?exacerbation) of incidents has been halted. There has been (?close cooperation) between the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry's forces and the Soviet Army detachments.

Thanks to the measures taken, additional troops have been stationed in the areas bordering Azerbaijan and are helping to safeguard the security of our republic's residents. These measures have created favorable grounds for the voluntary handing in of stolen arms and army materiel.

Meanwhile, the (?attacks) on internal affairs bodies and other organizations where arms are being kept have not stopped in the republic. Since measures have been taken to safeguard the security of the residents of the republic, the illegal keeping of arms creates a great social threat. The people are especially concerned over the fact that some of the stolen arms have fallen into the hands of criminals and are being used for criminal objectives. The republican council on the special situation has drawn the attention of the law enforcement bodies to the need to take concrete and effective measures to end the criminal acts. It has appealed to the residents to accelerate the voluntary handing in of the stolen arms. Popular and informal organizations are actively participating in this.

At present, and at a time when guarantees for the residents' security are being ensured, (?steps) to improve the situation are being taken on the Azerbaijan-Armenian border. A Soviet [word indistinct] for the state border has been organized.

The council calls on the citizens of the republic not to respond to instigations, to display sagacity, alertness, restraint, and awareness under these difficult and tense times, and not to allow the dangerous (?exacerbation) of incidents. It is our civic and patriotic duty to safeguard law and order in every way.

Strike Protests Azeri Visit

NC2901191390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Work has halted once again in Stepanakert. Today, 29 January, production establishments, construction organizations, transportation, public services, cultural-intellectual foundations, and schools were not operating in the oblast's center. Cultural, soviet, [word indistinct], and Komsomol workers left their offices. Only essential services, such as medical centers and provision stores, were operating.

The reason for the new wave of protest is that a number of representatives of the republic's [word indistinct] committee, headed by [name indistinct], second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, have gone to Stepanakert.

This was stated to an ARMENPRES correspondent by Eduard Petrosyan, head of the party oblast committee [word indistinct]. He added: First of all, there are no representatives of the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in [words indistinct] in the committee, as was envisaged in the 28 November 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the NKAO. Our people (?had earlier) expressed their (?unanimous) and absolute opinion on that document and described it as unacceptable. The Azerbaijani side (?had also apparently) rejected that decision. But the main issue is that this decision by the country's leadership, as was expected, not only did not help improve the situation in the region, but also (?inevitably exacerbated) it.

The NKAO workers (?expected) calm and restraint at such difficult times, continued Petrosyan. They behaved with [word indistinct] when a state of emergency was declared in the region. They continued to work under tense conditions. How can a trip by Azerbaijani representatives to Stepanakert, at a time when they are (?faced with the challenge) of improving the situation in Baku and in the other areas of Azerbaijan, be explained? Did they not have to exert efforts there first to defend the (?principles) of the USSR Constitution or even the Azerbaijani constitution?

As for the NKAO, the (?committee) monitoring the state of emergency, together with the oblast's party and soviet bodies, were, on the whole, able to take steps on their own to improve the situation.

This is why there is no political or moral justification for the presence of the representatives of the city committee in the oblast. We consider that step as yet another (?manifestation) of an entirely baseless act. [Words indistinct] in the republic is in the NKAO. This was specifically stated at the meeting of the party oblast committee employees which addressed an appeal on this issue to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Paper Shortage From Blockade Called 'Grave'

NC2901195390 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] A grave situation has been created in the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee's publishing house because of the continuing blockade on the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The supplies of newsprint are dwindling, and will only last about 1 more week.

In order not to deprive the republic's residents of the press completely, it has been decided temporarily to stop the publication of various republican and literary newspapers.

Armenian Draft Economic Plan Outlined

NC2701145990 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Jan (ARMENPRES)—A draft national plan for extricating the republic from the economic crisis has been submitted to the workers for their comprehensive examination by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers. The draft, which was published in the republican press, deals with the current and future urgent and fundamental issues facing Armenia's economy.

The plan envisages the implementation of radical measures to improve economic relations, the acceleration of steps to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, the socio-psychological revival of the population, the improvement of administrative structures, and the strengthening of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] economic independence. New practical measures are envisaged for a transition to new models of economic activity with the outside world aimed at consolidating ties with the diaspora Armenians.

The national plan features a number of subplans related to future prospects, the national economy, and regional and departmental economies.

For example, the restoration plan was formulated after having taken into account the results of the analysis of the post-quake situation and international experience in overcoming the consequences of earthquakes and dealing with them under extremely difficult conditions.

The foodstuffs plan envisages the consolidation of new economic relations in the agricultural sector and a consistent policy for the better provision of foodstuffs to the population through the optimal use of existing resources and possibilities. New approaches are being implemented to stabilize the situation in the consumer market and to enhance the production of consumer goods and the improvement of the service sector by utilizing the potential of all branches of the national economy, especially defense and joint enterprises and cooperatives.

The housing plan is being adjusted after taking into account the severe housing problem created by the earthquake and the presence of the more than 220,000 refugees who had arrived before the latest bloody events [words indistinct].

The transportation and communication routes plan includes matters related to the improvement of the republic's entire transportation system and its stable operation with the use of all available transportation means and necessary communication lines. The building of new railways, roads, and bridges and the opening of new flight routes are envisaged.

The foreign economic ties plan, which is being formulated, envisages the consolidation of free enterprise principles, a substantial increase in the republic's export potential, the creation of joint enterprises with foreign firms, the development of border trade, the broadening of mutually beneficial economic and scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries, and the holding of international fairs and sales in Armenia in which Armenia will participate.

The national plan also includes specific plans for the fields of labor, ecology, scientific and technological progress, energy, building industry and construction materials, health, culture, and tourism, among others

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR have called for widespread and active participation in the formulation of the national plan aimed at extricating the republic's economy from its critical state.

Proposals and observations should be submitted to the republic's state planning committee until 15 February 1990.

Baku Radio Carries Announcements on Events

Commandant's Notice

NC2901183490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1702 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku city—read by announer]

[Text] The situation in the city did not change during the day. Many of the city's establishments resumed their work today. A total of three individuals were detained for [words indistinct], 65 for violating the curfew, and 15 for violating law and order during the state of emergency which has been declared in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decree. Firearms and cold steel weapons continue to be seized from the bandits.

Appeals are made to the commandant's headquarters supporting the [words indistinct] on 28 January. The appeals also urge that the people, particularly the youths, be better informed about who is a friend and who is a foe. [passage indistinct]

I thank the city's residents who are contributing to the efforts to stabilize and improve the situation. However, calls are being made for the continuation of the strike in the city. These calls have worsened [words indistinct] and caused tension in the city. I urge the city's residents not to be carried away by provocations. Rumors must not be spread. The quicker the activities aimed inciting and provoking the feelings of the people are ended, the sooner will it be possible to establish a normal life for the city's population.

I would like to remind you that the curfew has been reduced by 1 hour. The curfew will now start at 2300 and end at (?0300) the following morning.
[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku city

Situation in Mingechaur

NC3001112290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1712 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Unscheduled announcement—read by announcer]

[Text] The following report is from Mingechaur: Some establishments have continued to work without disruption. The health services, [word indistinct], schools, kindergartens, the bakery, stores, markets, and transportation services are functioning. Along with the militia forces and the aktivs of the Popular Front, the city residents are supervising adherence to law and order.

Azeri 'Agents' To Arrive in Riga for Talks

LD3001111290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] According to the Sajudis Information Agency, a member [name indistinct] of the directorate of the People's Front of Azerbaijan informed us by telephone that two authorized agents will arrive in Riga for negotiations on 31 January. They will inform the Baltic Council that a political consultation with the Armenian National Movement is possible only on the condition that territorial claims on Azerbiajan are renounced.

The following issues for discussion have been proposed by the People's Front of Azerbaijan:

1. The movement of troops into Baku and other areas of the territory of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

2. The condition of refugees of both sides.

3. Other humanitarian issues relevant to this problem.

'Real Independence' Is Strategy in Azerbaijan

PM2401124890 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Interview with CPSU Central Committee member Nikolay Shishlin by correspondent David Smith in Moscow, from Channel 4 "News" report on the situation in Azerbaijan—no date given; recorded]

[Text] [Shishlin] I don't believe that all the people in Azerbaijan are eager to have referendum or are eager to secess [as heard] from the Soviet Union. I think that it's impossible to make rational decision in today's situation. I can say that we have a clear aim, a clear aim: we have a clear strategy, but the situation is changing each hour.

[Smith] What is the strategy? What is the aim?

[Shishlin] The aim: to establish order. The strategy: to establish a real federation and to give real independence, real sovereignty to Azerbaijan, as well to other republics.

[Smith] So the Kremlin wants a compromise—even if it means offering independence, as in the Baltics. On the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia today: relative calm. Western correspondents are being allowed to travel with the Soviet Army—an indication here that the situation is improving somewhat. But it's ominous for Moscow, because it looks less and less like war between two republics and more and more like an uprising against the Kremlin and the government. Fuelling the fire is the chaos on the border with Iran. Much of it has been torn down these past few weeks by Azerbaijani nationalists. Tens of thousands of them crossed over into the Islamic Republic: A few have returned armed, apparently by the Iranians. So is Moscow telling Iran to keep out?

[Shishlin] I hope that it's not in the interests of Tehran to involve into our domestic problems. They have enough to do in their own country.

[Smith] But do you think they are behind it?

[Shishlin] Hmmm. Till now, they are rather cautious.

Political & Social

Yeltsin To Seek RSFSR Supreme Soviet Seat

LD2901124590 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Sverdlovsk January 29 TASS—Soviet Communist Party maverick Boris Yeltsin, a candidate from the 74th national-territorial election district for a seat on the Russian Federation's [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, met voters at the Ural Polytechnic and the science and production amalgamation Avtomatika here today.

Yeltsin was nominated by 18 factories, institutes and non-governmental organisations. Yeltsin will run against 13 rivals.

Yeltsin's election programme proclaims his aspiration to achieve Russia's economic, political and spiritual rebirth.

If elected, Yeltsin vows to compete for the post of president of the Federation's Supreme Soviet.

The nomination of candidates to the Russian parliament is over. Voting will take place on March 4.

Estonian Party's Leading Role Retained

PM3001091390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[ETA-TASS report under general heading "At Sessions of Union Republics"]

[Text] Tallinn, 26 Jan—An Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session began work here today. The third of the 12 items on the agenda was central. On the basis of the report delivered by the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission the parliamentarians had to discuss and decide the fate of Articles 6 and 7 of the Estonian SSR Constitution concerning the leading role of the Communist Party in society's political system.

The political declaration of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 16th Plenum said that in the future no one could have a monopoly of power in society. The Estonian Communist Party then put forward a legislative initiative submitting to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet a draft law on the place, role, and functions of parties in society's political system.

No one was in any doubt that this issue would provoke keen debate in parliament, but virtually no one expected what actually happened. For 187 deputies voted in favor of revoking Article 6 of the constitution and making the changes to Article 7 proposed by the Supreme Soviet commission, 20 deputies voted against, and 24 abstained. Since amendments to the constitution require a two-thirds majority and there are 283 deputies on the republic parliamentary roll, the draft was not passed. The constitutional article on the leading role of the party was two votes short of being revoked. But then it emerged that the electronic counter had malfunctioned during the registration of participants prior to the vote. A number of deputies protested against a repeat vote because that would necessarily cast doubt on the results of voting on other questions, too. After long and difficult discussion it was resolved to reject the draft amendments to the constitution and to refer them back to the Legislative Proposals Commission. It turned out, incidentally, that they should not have been put to the vote at all, since under the Estonian Supreme Soviet's standing orders constitutional amendments must undergo three parliamentary readings.

Brazauskas Discusses Conflict With Moscow

AU3001084590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 29 Jan 90 p 123

[Interview with Lithuanian Communist Party chief Algirdas Brasauskas by unidentified reporter: "We Are Designing Our Model"—date, place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr. President, is Lithuania's party-state leader still a member of the CPSU?

Brasauskas: I am a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

DER SPIEGEL: But the Central Committee in Moscow has said that the resolution of the Lithuanian Communist Party to resign from the CPSU is illegal, and has stated: "The Communists of Lithuania continue to be members of the CPSU."

Brasauskas: That was a statement. We do not have a document about this statement. As far as we know, there will be a Central Committee meeting in Moscow before long; then we will see what happens.

DER SPIEGEL: Following the resignation of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Moscow accused you of having "chummed up to separatists and nationalists." Did you address this serious reproach when Gorbachev visited Vilnius?

Brasauskas: We do not think we are separatists. We only intend to implement perestroyka within the party. It is the only possibility of restoring the people's respect for this party. The most recent opinion polls have already shown that we have succeeded in doing so, whereas elsewhere in East Europe the communist parties are experiencing a fiasco.

DER SPIEGEL: Why is it so difficult for Moscow to accept the idea that instead of a unified party, there could be a federation of communist parties in the USSR in the future?

Brasauskas: I attribute this to the old way of thinking. For 70 years, we have been used to a single large unified party. What has happened that is so bad? In line with our party statute, we want to have equality, social progress, and humanity. Whenever I asked what was objectionable about it, I never got an answer.

DER SPIEGEL: Over 50 percent of your new Central Committee are supporters of the Lithuanian national movement, Sajudis. You personally were elected with the votes of Sajudis members. Is the Communist Party now the extended arm of Sajudis?

Brasauskas: Sajudis is a people's movement, not a party. In fact, the Lithuanian Communist Party elected many Sajudis people into its leading organs. What is so unusual about it?

DER SPIEGEL: Only a minority of your party maintained their membership in the CPSU after the majority decided to resign. Will the party's property be distributed on a percentage basis?

Brasauskas: We have started to find out who wants to stay in the independent Lithuanian party, and who does not. We will probably know in 2 weeks, and we will then also start dividing the property.

DER SPIEGEL: By resolution of your party congress, the party's most important goal in the future will be the creation of an independent Lithuanian state. Do you mean by that full sovereignty?

Brasauskas: Depending on the respective trends of the times, independence and sovereignty have been interpreted differently by people. We are currently designing our model. In our strive for independence, we will consider the existing links to the Soviet Union and to our other neighbors.

DER SPIEGEL: Will Lithuania's future relations with the Soviet Union be closer than those of Finland, for example?

Brasauskas: I think so, yes. After all, we get 80 percent of our raw materials from the Soviet Union. We cannot ignore that.

DER SPIEGEL: The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has declared the Secret Protocol on the Hitler-Stalin Pact, that led to Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union, to be null and void. Does that mean that consequently, Lithuania was juristically never a member of the Soviet Union?

Brasauskas: One of our Supreme Soviet's committees decided this, and the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow responded. It is an undisputed fact that Lithuania's incorporation into the Soviet Union was illegal.

DER SPIEGEL: If that was illegal, the Soviet troops are in Lithuania illegally. Did you recommend to Gorbachev during his visit to think about their withdrawal?

Brasauskas: We had a long discussion with Moscow on the status of the Soviet Army in Lithuania. I suggested that the Supreme Soviet of the Union and the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania should find a solution jointly.

DER SPIEGEL: Gorbachev had stated prior to his visit: "The present party-state leadership will not accept the disintegration of the Union." Did he tell you more precisely what he has in mind?

Brasauskas: There were talks about a possible disintegration of the Union. There are plans to create a mechanism by which a republic will be allowed to resign from the Union. We will see whether this mechanism is acceptable.

DER SPIEGEL: Gorbachev had addressed an even stronger warning to Lithuania. He said that pursuing the secession from the Union, would mean "to sow discord, bloodshed, and death." What does he mean by that?

Brasauskas: Of course, I do not know what Gorbachev means. I can only comment on it: There does not have to be such a dangerous aggravation, if a contractual settlement is found that does not ignore the will of the peoples to achieve independence—the peoples in the Baltic Republics, for instance. Then no such tragedies will take place as are now happening in the republics.

DER SPIEGEL: What is now happening in the Caucasus—is it the disintegration of the Union?

Brasauskas: It is the result of a failed nationalities' policy.

Lithuanian Official Views 'Financial Blockade'

LD2901170290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America at 0100 GMT on 28 January carries a 13-minute report on a discussion with Kazimiera Prunskiene, deputy minister of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, presented by Vilnius Radio correspondent Roma Pakeniene, about the economic independence of the Republic. The report includes recorded excerpts of remarks by Prunskiene.

R. Pakeniene explains that the law on economic independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia became valid on 7 December of last year. However, he says, the law could not function in practical terms until the USSR Council of Ministers adopts a decision which would unambigously explain some parts of this law and define the conditions for its implementation.

Pakeniene says: "Negotiations with Moscow concerning this decision started at the beginning of January of the current year. After long and acute debates, a compromise was not found concerning the transition of enterprises to

republican subbordination as well as concerning banks and budget relations. It was decided to continue negotiations and to adopt the decision by 1 February."

Pakeniene continues: "Immediately after M.Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania on 17 January, Nikolay Ryzhkov, the USSR prime minister, invited the governments of all three republics to come to Moscow and to continue the negotiations. However, at the very last minute, when the representatives from Lithuania were already sitting on the plane, the trip to Moscow was cancelled."

Pakeniene says that "here in Lithuania, the invitation to come to Moscow is being expected practically every day." He says he asked Prunskiene, the Lithuanian deputy prime minister, what this dragging out of negotiations could mean.

According to Prunskiene, "The cancellation of these negotiations, of these debates, clearly indicates that the economy is directly dependent on politics. Because when the actions of the Lithuanian Communist Party began, when the independent status was adopted, and when the discussion of this document began in Moscow, followed by the arrival of M.Gorbachev in this republic, then the center of weight was transferred namely into political relations and therefore, economic relations between the USSR and Lithuania became, as if of secondary importance. These relations depend on how political relations will be solved," says Prunskiene.

Prunskiene says: "During the week of Gorbachev's visit here in this Republic, a large group of people working in the sphere of economy were here too; first of all Maslyukov, chairman of State Planning Committee, a great number of his deputies, in addition to other deputies of Ryzhkov. They talked to us; we explained things to them. However, they did not attempt to reach any concrete agreement, indicating at the same time that everything depended how these political negotiations would end."

"I think," says Prunskiene, "that the political negotiations should be concluded by 5-6 February because this is the time planned for the second part of the plenum, that is, the plenum which had begun earlier and where the Lithuanian phenomenon or some other word was used by Mikhail Gorbachev was discussed. The attitude toward economic agreements will depend on what decisions are adopted," she says.

Roma Pakeniene explains that despite all this, the three Baltic republics are not waiting, but instead common problems are being tackled. Representatives of the government and bankers of the three republics held a meeting in Tallinn last Thursday and Friday, and the manager of the USSR State Bank was also present.

According K.Prunskiene, the discussion was about setting up national banks in each of the republics and the introduction of their own currency.

Pakeniene explains that K.Prunskiene maintained that we shall have to look for ways to function normally because Moscow has already started blockading our banks. He says that Prunskiene was referring to the financial blockade, as a result of which from the beginning of this year the inhabitants of Lithuania canot exchange rubles for hard currency in foreign countries. According to K.Prunskiene, it is possible that settling accounts by enterprises with partners abroad as well as in the Soviet Union could be banned. And this would be not too difficult for Moscow to do, she says. "We of course can set up a banking system of our own. However, if the USSR State Bank issued a regulation banning setting accounts with our banks, then the operation of our banking system would be hampered indeed," she says. "Our determination is very clear," says K.Prunskiene. "If the negotiations with the government fail, than we shall raise this question at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session which will start on 14 February."

According to Prunskiene, a rather disrupted supply to Lithuanian enterprises is yet another pressing problem. Some enterprises which do not get supplies of raw materials have been out of operation for almost 6 months already. Prunskiene says that this could not be labeled as an economic blocade because the administrative-command system of the entire Soviet Union is collapsing. Therefore, there are no guarantees that the sitaution could improve. This situation is not only here in Lithuania, but in other republics as well which do not aspire for economic independence she says. The most important thing, says the deputy prime minister of Lithuania is to prepare for this, to look for possible partners and this means to learn to work under market conditions.

Prunskiene continues: "Our enterprises are not used to this. Our enterprises now want the Lithuanian Government to guarantee the supply to them, whereas in normal market conditions, in normal states, this is done by enterprises themselves. They look directly or through the mediators for what they need." "Therefore," says,Prunskiene, "this blockade cannot be neutralized in a sense that the suppliers, or in other words, our economic partners are no longer humble executioners of commands from Moscow. They themselves offer economic agreements, they can set up direct contracts without Moscow's participation, and therefore, for this reason the economic blocade will simply not succeed."

"However," continues Prunskiene, "there are issues which will be seriously regulated by Moscow. This is, first of all, the supply of fuel, which is of great importance, and the supply of metals. However, we can make trade agreements with Azerbaijan because they are prepared to work absolutely independently, including the market, to begin contracts with other republics without Moscow's interference," she says.

Roma Pakeniene says that he reminded K. Prunskiene about the fact that already last summer and autumn, when the adoption of the economic self-dependence of

the Baltic republics was being dragged out, she maintained that if this law were not adopted then the economic conflicts may turn into a political conflict. Pakeniene says he asked Prunskiene whether the present situation is not similar to that in the summer, whether there have not been too many comprises made and too much confidence in Moscow demonstrated on our part."

Prunskiene says: "I think that we must tell first of all to ourselves and especially to the negotiator who is stronger that we had made all the efforts in an attempt to find a compromise solution which would allow us at least a minimum implementation of our interests."

Unfortunately, says Prunskiene, "we failed to find these ways. I think that through this dialogue we are carrying out a huge work for other republics, too, because sooner or later these republics will go into this direction as well."

Prunskiene continues: "We know that the issue of distribution of competence between the union and the republics will be discussed at the next session. The discussion which is taking place so publicly even on the world widescale is being covered by the Soviet press. Our argument about economy, our argument about self-dependence which grew of late into an argument about independence—it brings about a huge response in all other republics and this accordingly, sets up a new situation in which it will no doubt be easier for us to achieve this. We, of course, will try their patience, and here perhaps I should confess that going to Moscow for negotiations at the level of the USSR Council of Ministers for negotiations at the level of the USSR Council of Ministers to hold a discussion concerning economic relations with abroad—concerning this matter we have already managed to reach some agreement: However, there is no decision in this either as yet, and then there are such issues as taking over the enterprises, concerning banks and budget relations, an acceptable decision on these could hardly be found and then it would become inevitable to raise the issue at the Supreme Soviet."

"And because the situation is becoming more and more acute each time, then of course, these demands raised could change character indeed, and these demands could be formulaed as the status of this republic, as entirely different relations with the Union. Well, then, in the light of the new situation, these economic demands would look entirely different," Prunskiene concludes.

TASS Account of Ukraine Official's Dismissal

LD2501130690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1208 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev, 25 January (TASS)—TASS correspondents Aleksey Petrunya and Adam Yanushevskiy report:

Vasiliy Yamchinskiy, chairman of the Zhitomir Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies (Ukraine) Executive Committee, has been relieved of office at a session of the soviet for violation of the legal system and misuse of office. A plenum of the CPSU oblast committee has dismissed him from membership of the oblast committee bureau.

It has been revealed from materials of an investigation carried out by a party oblast committee commission and letters sent by the working people that Vasiliy Yamchinskiy violated the legal system, and frequently used his position for personal interests, thus arousing justified public dissatisfaction. For example, in violation of housing legislation, an apartment was supplied to his daughter's family out of turn. Questions of conferring on his wife the title of Meritorious Agronomist of the Ukraine and of increasing her salary were decided upon privately and virtually without the participation of the works collective. The chairman of the oblast executive committee unjustifiably interfered in the distribution of passenger cars which had been put up for sale. He also displayed a lack of ethics in putting forward his own candidature for people's deputy of the Ukraine.

This is not the first time this year that persons occupying top posts but misusing their office have been forced to resign by public demand in the Ukraine. For example, Nikolay Nivalov, first secretary of the Chernovtsy Party Oblast Committee, the secretaries of a number of party rayon committees, and the chairmen of some city executive committees and of rayon executive committees of soviets of people's deputies have been relieved of their posts.

Russian-Speaking Moldavian City Votes Autonomy

LD2901211490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1626 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—A referendum has been held in the Russian-speaking region of Moldavia (a republic in the southwest USSR). Residents of the town of Tiraspol, and also those of the Dnestrovsk, Novotiraspolskiy, and Kremenchug settlements expressed themselves on Sunday by voting "yes" or "no" firstly about giving Tiraspol the status of a territory operating on principles of self-government, regional financial autonomy, and self-financing with full equality of languages; and secondly about the purposefulness of Tiraspol becoming part of the Pridnestrovskaya Autonomous Republic, if it is formed.

Today it became clear that more than 92 percent of adults participated in the referendum. Of these, 96 percent voted "yes" on both points of the questionnaire. This was reported in this evening's edition of IZVESTIYA.

Sunday's referendum was a continuation of the events of sharp conflict in the republic, chief among them the prolonged political strike in connection with the adoption of laws on language in Moldavia. Last fall the decisions of a session of the town soviet which posed the questions of the referendum, the suspension of effect of language laws, and development of the ideas concerning autonomy for the Dnestr region were annulled by the

Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet as illegal and contrary to the republic's constitution. Nevertheless, the December session of the town soviet resolved to stage the referendum. The Tiraspol United Council of Labor Collectives (OSTK) was the instigator, organizer, and executor of it.

The paper's correspondent spoke to OSTK Chairman V. Rylyakov at the gorisolkom buildings where the OSTK has based itself since the autumn. He reckons that regardless of whether the republican authorities recognize the referendum as legitimate or not, it will allow the people's opinion to be made clear one way or the other. "There is no point in them accusing us of separatism," says Rylyakov. "Tiraspol has no intention at all of seceding from Moldavia. The purpose behind Dnestr region autonomy is not to become a nation apart, but territorial-economic independence for a multiethnic region. Studies in depth of this economic model have already been done. If it is implemented and if a number of provisions of the laws on language are amended for the region, where people have spoken Russian virtually since time immemorial, the acuteness of the situation will disappear of its own accord."

AFP Report

AU2901134890 Paris AFP in English 1332 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 29 (AFP)—The Russian-speaking city of Tiraspol in the western republic of Moldavia has defied communist party authorities and voted in a referendum to become a self-governed independent territory, Moldavian official sources said Monday.

Moldavian Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivan Botnar, contacted in the republican capital Kishinev, said the move was aimed at countering a Moldavian law adopted last August which raised the Moldavian language to official status.

The Moscow radio publication INTERFAX said that 125,000 people, or 92.3 percent of voters in the city's electoral lists, had taken part in Sunday's referendum, which was approved by a total 89.3 percent.

The vote was on granting Tiraspol the status of "an independent territory based on self-government, regional cost-accounting and self-financing, and the full equality of all languages".

Mr. Botnar said the Moldavian Communist Party leadership had condemned plans for the referendum as "anti-constitutional" at a meeting on Friday.

But he stressed that although the consequences of Sunday's vote were "not clear", Tiraspol would remain inside Moldavia and the Soviet Union.

"We ourselves don't understand how it will work," he said, asked to explain Tiraspol's plans to introduce a type of market economy on its territory and cut itself off from central administrative bodies.

But he noted that Moldavia was currently working out a system of regional economic independence from Moscow.

Mr. Botnar said that in his view, Sunday's vote was above all aimed at ensuring that the republican language law did not apply to Tiraspol, where only 30 percent of the 200,000 residents are ethnic Moldavians.

The Tiraspol vote was the first of its kind concerning a city entity, and according to INTERFAX the Moldavian Russian-dominated city of Bendery, also in the eastern part of Moldavia, is about to follow suit.

The Russian-speaking community of Moldavia, which includes Ukrainians and Bulgarians, last September went on strike to protest the language law which stipulated that Russian would remain the language of interethnic communication in the republic

Ryzhkov Meets With Farm Congress Delegates

PM2601155990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting With Delegates to Russian Farmers Congress in USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met 25 January with a group of delegates to the First (Constituent) Congress of the Association of Russian Peasant Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives [AKKOR].

There was a keen exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions associated with the development of new forms of economic management in the countryside and their position and role in solving the food problem.

It was emphasized that the main task consists of organically combining the activity of peasant farms, leasehold enterprises, and agricultural cooperatives with statewide interests, and making them equal partners of collective and state farms in solving the country's food problem. This attitude toward peasant farms must be adopted today at all levels of state and economic management.

It was noted at the meeting that, in order to achieve this, it will be necessary to solve vitally important questions like introducing new purchase prices for agricultural produce in the agro-industrial complex, enhancing the efficiency of credit policy, providing social amenities in the countryside, offering material, technical, and scientific backup, and creating the appropriate production infrastructure.

All participants in the meeting were unanimous that local soviets of people's deputies are called upon to play a steadily growing role in the further establishment of peasant farms, leasehold enterprises, and agricultural cooperatives.

It is impossible to accept that in some regions all possible obstacles are still being placed in the way of handing over

land on lease, with the result that hundreds of thousands of hectares of formerly fertile agricultural fields remain abandoned. This is contrary to common sense and society's present needs.

N.I. Ryzhkov drew attention to the fact that the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food Supplies and Procurements and republic agro-industrial committees should not remain neutral as regards the development of peasant farms, leasehold enterprises, and agricultural cooperatives. All economic structures must have equal rights since they all work for the sake of a single goal—to speed up the full satisfaction of the consumer market's needs for foodstuffs.

The meeting gave instructions to relevant department leaders to sum up the proposals made at the AKKOR congress with a view to lifting unjustified restrictions in the way of the development of peasant farms.

V.V. Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; AKKOR President and USSR People's Deputy A.M. Yemel'yanov; and USSR People's Deputy Yu.D. Chernichenko, USSR Central Television observer; took part in the conversation.

Pugo: CPSU Congress To Renovate, Democratize

LD2901131990 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The coming 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party will help to renovate and democratize the party. That's been stated by candidate member of the party's Political Bureau, Boris Pugo. In an interview for the press, he said the Central Committee is discussing the question about the possibility of the communists voluntarily leaving the party. A number of executives who used to hold high offices in the government have been expelled from the party. However, he spoke out against such an activity and forming an opposition in the ranks of the party.

Interview With ARGUMENTY I FAKTY

90UI0317A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 4, 27 Jan-2 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, by correspondent N. Vityazev: "I Am Against Unity Which Is Stultifying..."; place, date not given]

[Text] [Vityazev] Boris Karlovich, the first question was suggested to us by the readers. Going by the mail, not all have a clear idea of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. One letter called the committee a "party procuracy with extraordinarily high powers." What does this body do, what comes directly within the sphere of its activity?

[Pugo] This question may be answered very briefly. The Party Control Committee verifies observance by the members and candidates of the CPSU of party discipline and institutes proceedings against communists guilty of violating the party program and rules and party and state discipline and also violators of party morals. In addition, the committee examines appeals against decisions of the local party committees on expulsion from the party and on party penalties.

[Vityazev] Laconic, of course, but the readers could still have questions.

[Pugo] You know, many people portray the Party Control Committee as an all-purpose body examining practically all questions. Some people see us as fixers and suppliers and even as the last resort in the solution of purely scientific problems.

Why? There was for many years the practice of the party authorities being the curator of sectors of the national economy. In this connection the Party Control Committee also monitored the work of the ministries and departments and, at times, individual enterprises also. Special control groups were set up for this. To what did this lead? We came to be addressed on literally all questions of industrial and economic life.

Of course, the party's control authorities are capable of investigating practically all violations. But they should not take on functions that are not within their province and substitute for people's control, the unions, the ministries and departments, and the procuracy. The target of our investigations is not this body or the other but its leader who is a party member.

In a word, the committee has concentrated attention primarily on questions concerning the recovery and viability of the party, party discipline, and the cohesion and unity of the communists.

[Vityazev] To whom is the Party Control Committee accountable? Does it possess assurances of independent work between party congresses?

[Pugo] The Party Control Committee works under the direct leadership of the party Central Committee. You ask: Are there assurances of independent work? Of what kind of independence are we speaking? I would clarify your question somewhat: Do we have an opportunity to ensure firm assurances against conservatism, arbitrariness, and demagogy? Against the influence of personal and chance circumstances on party policy? This was the mission given us by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which proposed the formation of a central control and auditing commission accountable to the party congress. This was a revival of the Leninist principles of party control.

[Vityazev] Have you ever in the Party Control Committee instituted party proceedings against communists who are members of the Central Committee and higher? If not, in what way is party control over them exercised?

I would like, in the context of this question, to know: Have you examined the procuracy's charges brought against Comrade Smirnov, candidate of the CPSU Central Committee?

[Pugo] Of course we have instituted proceedings. We monitor the way in which communist executives, members of the Central Committee included, carry out the orders of the party and government. V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.I. Busygin, minister of timber industry of the USSR; and P.A. Paskar, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, have been punished for unsatisfactory work.

I could cite dozens of names. But I would like to emphasize something else: The point of the restructuring of supervisory work is democratization. In other words, control is a matter for the whole party, for each communist. Only in this case will not one party organization and not one official remain unsupervised.

Now about Smirnov. The USSR Procuracy replied to our inquiry that the institution of criminal proceedings against him and his arrest were possible as a result of falsification of the material of the criminal case. We were not in possession of other documents.

[Vityazev] It has recently become known that party officials also have been mixed up in criminal offenses. However, we frequently learn about this from officials of the procuracy, journalists, and readers' letters. Yet the Party Control Committee surely receives many letters also....

[Pugo] I would like to make clear right away that we conduct purely party inspections. Criminal offenses are the prerogative of the law enforcement authorities. But you are right: People should know those who have besmirched the calling of leader and party member. Incidentally, those expelled by the Party Control Committee from the party have been, in the main, officials holding high positions. These include Ya.S. Nasriddinova, former chairman of the USSR Soviet of Nationalities; Ye.M. Kuzmin, deputy chairman of the USSR Vneshtorgbank Board; T.S. Khuramshin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products; Ye.F. Kondratkov, minister of light industry of the RSFSR; P.P. Falaleyev, first deputy minister of power and electrification of the USSR; and others.

[Vityazev] Does the Party Control Committee participate in the examination of matters connected with the abolition of undeserved benefits and privileges for a number of senior officials of the party apparatus?

[Pugo] As you know, a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet is dealing with this matter. But neither are we remaining aloof. As agreed, the commission forwards to the committee all letters on violations by party officials of the principle of social justice. Believe me, we adopt the strictest measures. I personally am against all unlawful privileges.

[Vityazev] Boris Karlovich, you will not object if within the framework of our interview we conduct a further blitz-interview?

[Pugo] Go ahead.

[Vityazev] Can a communist voluntarily leave the party today?

[Pugo] The question of the possibility of resignation from the party upon written application is, inter alia, being discussed in the CPSU Central Committee.

[Vityazev] Would not a "purge" of the party make sense?

[Pugo] When people say the word "purge," it engenders in me bad associations.

[Vityazev] An official of the party apparatus may be dismissed, and he has no right of appeal against this decision. What is your attitude toward the idea of the election of the party apparatus?

[Pugo] Truly, the party official is currently not socially protected and is frequently dependent on the will of "No 1," who puts together his own "team". There is food for thought here.

[Vityazev] Section 59 of the CPSU Rules speaks of the right of the primary party organization to monitor the activity of management.

[Pugo] In a number of cases this is already an anachronism.

[Vityazev] What would be your attitude toward a debate on the revocation of the confinement of membership of the CPSU merely to USSR citizens?

[Pugo] This would be in keeping with the essence of the integration processes occurring throughout the world.

[Vityazev] Now once again a question from the readers: Should a person who is accused of a criminal offense be expelled from the party? It is not an idle question since expulsion from the CPSU is followed, as a rule, by dismissal from office, with all the ensuing consequences.

[Pugo] Many people are evidently confused by the relatively vague wording of Section 12 of the CPSU Rules: "Persons who have committed misdemeanors punishable under criminal law are expelled from the CPSU." But only a court of law may find a person guilty. I believe that this provision will be appropriately amended at a party congress. Incidentally, in a number of parties party membership in such situations is suspended for a certain length of time. If it is ascertained that a person has damaged the party's authority, he is expelled. If the charges are dropped, his party card is returned. There could be various versions. The main thing is that we do not turn our back on a person until he is proven guilty. The communist should be able to count on there being hope for him in any situation, even, seemingly, the most hopeless.

[Vityazev] What is your attitude toward communists who participate in various movements and informal associations and adopt various positions in interethnic and labor disputes? Some of them, for example, are expressing opinions concerning the creation of a multiparty system in the country. According to the rules, a person may for all this be expelled from the party, as also for actions incompatible with the calling of communist. What is your position?

[Pugo] Today the party encourages thinking people who reflect in a noncliched manner. Yet even recently any deviation from the stereotype and the least dissimilarity evoked perplexity: Why, to what end? Of course, things are always easier with submissive people, with those who are in sympathy with one's wishes and conduct. It is easier, yes, but better, this is another matter. Would it not be more correct to first look closely to see what goals drive a person and what desires rule him?

I recall in this connection a proposition recorded back in the decisions of the Ninth All-Russia Conference: "Any measures of punishment whatever against comrades for the fact that they are dissidents on this question or the other decided by the party are impermissible."

Each communist has his own experience. His own level of knowledge. His own understanding of this situation or the other. Hence the spread of opinions and assessments, which, naturally, require comprehension and comparison, is inevitable.

We need to learn to work with our difficult partners—the informals, various support groups and such like. We will have to work together with many people with their own particular views. We cannot brush extremes aside. We cannot shove aside and ignore the minority opinion. Someone's viewpoint might, perhaps, be unacceptable, but it has to be considered. We should not get into conflicts but work with the "extremes"—both "right" and "left."

At the same time—and I am profoundly convinced of this—the communist's right to the free discussion of all questions of party policy is inseparable from the strictest observance of party discipline.

[Vityazev] That is, you are categorically opposed to factions and an opposition?

[Pugo] You know, I am against that "iron unity" which stultifies a person and deters him from a desire to think and act. I am for unity where on the basis of a free comparison of opinions a common action program is formulated. We may criticize the program, we may have an alternative viewpoint, but if this program has been adopted by the majority, we should, in Lenin's words, act as one man. But even in this case no one is about to gag anyone, as they say. If you have a particular opinion, out with it.

[Vityazev] What kind of relations with the press are taking shape in the Party Control Committee? There was no approaching your organization even in recent years.

[Pugo] We invite journalists, even from local publications, what is more, to each committee session.

[Vityazev] Excuse me, but ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has not been invited once.

[Pugo] We will rectify this. Nonetheless, we see your partners among the journalists. This will probably sound banal, but the press today is at the forward edge of perestroyka. We are trying to put right in good time those who do not understand this.

I shall give you just one example. Babadzhanov, deputy chairman of Leninabad Oblast's Kanibadamskiy City Soviet Executive Committee, had given the MASHALI KOMMUNIZMA editorial office a dressing-down. For what? For their having "dared" to criticize Tajikistan's minister of local industry. Under pressure from Babadzhanov the newspaper was forced by way of "compensation" to carry a laudatory notice about the minister. Is it any wonder that, after this, the oblast's party and soviet authorities have been giving inadequate support to both the newspapers and those who have been subjected to persecution for having revealed shortcomings? The committee made a most scrupulous appraisal of both this and other instances.

But I would also like to mention something else that troubles me. I do not understand how a professional can circulate unproven charges and unchecked facts. Would an honest, scrupulous journalist, playing up to the masses, accuse someone while a case is sub judice? Such things happen, believe me. Incidentally, I have complaints about ARGUMENTY I FAKTY also. If you do not cut them, I will tell you them....

[Vityazev] We will not....

[Pugo] I read in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 40 for 7-13 October 1989: "Up to and including 3 May 1989 ...all the accused, including Smirnov, in the presence of the leadership of the USSR Procuracy and representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, candidly, albeit not always in full measure, admitted the circumstances of the giving and receiving of bribes." But officials of the Party Control Committee never took part in the questioning of Smirnov. This is, after all, what we are resolutely struggling against—direct interference and substitution for the law enforcement authorities.

[Vityazev] The words you have quoted were indeed published in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, but they belong not to a journalist but to USSR People's Deputy N.A. Strukov, a co-chairman of the commission of the Congress of People's Deputies looking into the material connected with the activity of the investigating team headed by G.Kh. Gdlyan. We had no reason to distrust the commission.

Boris Karlovich, our readers are worried that, encountering irresponsible statements of a nationalist nature, some of the communist rank and file, and party officials also, are frankly passing.

[Pugo] Unfortunately, there have been such instances; I would add that some party officials are sometimes under the thumb of avowedly nationalist sentiments.

Today, communists—this applies to the party control authorities also, of course—need to be particularly vigilant and to see distinctly the boundary separating national dignity from nationalism, no matter if it be, in Lenin's words, "the most 'just,' 'pure,' refined, and civilized."

I will say frankly that there is no way we can excuse the party members who are supporting people pushing fraternal peoples into disunity. Ultimately appeasement and making advances have yet to be of real political advantage to anyone. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put it very subtly: "Whoever slides from positions of principle loses authority." We will struggle most resolutely, as far as expulsion from the party and the institution of criminal proceedings, against those who are inflaming interethnic hostility.

[Vityazev] What about communists' participation in strikes? After all, many demands, of the miners, for instance, have been just.

[Pugo] But there have also been statements of the following kind: Break up the people working in cooperatives, cancel the fines on enterprises for damaging the environment, and so forth. In these situations the communist must look for reasonable compromise. And be above narrowly understood interests. This is what is expected of him.

[Vityazev] The people's movements are today spotlighting new people. Many of them enjoy wide celebrity. What is your attitude toward such a phenomenon as populism?

[Pugo] I shall, if I may, quote from the Gospel: "Woe unto you if all men speak well of you for thus did their forefathers with false prophets." Tell me, does this not remind you of anything?

I am more worried about something else—how many competent, gifted, and, I would say, strong people are unwilling to assume responsibility and the functions of management. The result is that very mediocre people are at times acquiring positions of leadership.

[Vityazev] Yes, our country has had enough of gray and mediocre leaders. But let us hope that the acceleration of perestroyka and democratization will prompt gifted people to assume responsibility. How actively this process goes, the elections of people's deputies and delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress will show. Do you agree?

[Pugo] Yes, the coming elections will, I am sure, help find new leaders.

Interregional Group Leadership Criticized

PM1601141990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Single Edition p 3

[Interview with B.V. Miroshin, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies' subcommittee dealing with questions of legal backup for soviets' work and representative of Orsk city, by S. Karkhanin under heading "Who Has Disparaged Whom"; date, place unspecified; first two paragraphs introduction]

[Text] The critical report "Opposition and Posturing," which examined a meeting of the interregional deputies' group at which the idea of setting up a political opposition was discussed, has prompted a storm of reaction among readers. The authors of many letters do not agree with the newspaper, although it is true to say that they adduce no substantial arguments. Almost every response contains an urgent request that readers be given a first-hand assessment, so to speak, of the recent sensational events connected with the interregional deputies' group.

Complying with this request, we now give the floor to B.V. Miroshin, chairman of the deputies' subcommittee for questions of legal backup for soviets' work, representative of the city of Orsk in the Urals, and a member of the interregional deputies' group from its foundation to the present day.

[Karkhanin] Boris Vladimirovich, perhaps we could start with the angry reaction from reader A. Orlov in Lipetsk. His objections can be summed up in this sentence: "It is all too easy to disparage something the reader knows nothing about, namely the plans, direction of action, and work methods of the interregional group." We can both remember the organizational meeting of the interregional deputies' group in the summer, which adopted its platform; this platform, incidentally, was set out and commented on in detail in the press at the time. What has changed during these 6 months?

[Miroshin] I feel I must begin by talking about the reasons which compelled us to join forces at the time and about the motives which prompted some members of the group to sign a statement in December, subsequently read out by Yu.N. Afanasyev from the rostrum of the second congress. In the summer, many of us felt dissatisfied with the decisions of the first congress and were looking for ways to work more efficiently: That was how our interregional group came into being. But then, working in the Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, a considerable number of my colleagues, myself included, were able to fulfill the tasks facing us within the parliamentary framework. It is true, however, that, getting together now and again, the group would discuss some drafts and various aspects of legislative activity and, in this sense, fulfilled the functions expected of it. However, no real forms of participation in the work of the Supreme Soviet by the interregional deputies' group as an association of deputies had yet been found. Unfortunately, I cannot recall a single occasion when the group

has submitted its own, alternative version of a draft law on any issue on the agenda of a congress or session.

As far as the statement distributed at the congress is concerned, I, like many of my colleagues, did not sign it. In my opinion, it inaccurately reflects the situation. It states, for example, that the adoption of an "economic package" of laws is being held back and lays the blame for this at the feet of the Supreme Soviet. Although I can testify that the Supreme Soviet has worked as hard as it possibly can.

[Karkhanin] "The party apparatus is very afraid of an opposition which the people support, and people believe in the interregional deputies' group!" Muscovite V. Palishin writes. We will leave the manner of speaking on behalf of many on the conscience of the letter's author. But what is your opinion on the problem touched on by the reader?

[Miroshin] Yes, the statement distributed at the congress says that the interregional deputies' group is in opposition. But, in my view, only a constructive opposition is possible. There must be alternative drafts and proposals which the group could submit for discussion to the congress. But there is nothing like that! So I must confess that I cannot understand what "opposition" they are referring to in that case.

There is another point I should raise. It has been mentioned that the interregional deputies' group statement distributed at the recent congress was signed by 140 deputies from the group, although I have only seen a list of 106 names. In my view, the text of the statement should have undergone preliminary discussion in the group, possibly even more than once, as we do with draft laws. But there was no preliminary detailed discussion. It is not surprising that the statement prompted a negative reaction among many of my colleagues in the interregional deputies' group. N.I. Travkin, for example, said in a conversation with me that he probably will not attend any more meetings of the group. Some military deputies have also voiced strong dissatisfaction with the statement. On the whole, the methods and approaches of the group's leadership when it comes to making decisions do not suit many of us now.

[Karkhanin] Leaflets are being published on behalf of the interregional deupties' group and its leaders have called for a political strike, while the majority of ordinary members of the group are only finding out about all this after the event.... There is total unanimity in the readers' mail, incidentally, with regard to the December strike call. "We are deeply indignant at the conduct of the appeal's authors in calling for a strike on the eve of the second congress. We ask all people's deputies to give a fundamental assessment of these people's actions"—these lines are taken from a letter written by D. Bukharov, N. Osipov, and I. Nikishin, all of whom live in Velikiye Luki. A. Konyashin and B. Gorokhov from Kaluga, L. Loginov from Murmansk, and K. Artemyev from Voronezh are in complete agreement with them. As is well known, however, the interregional deputies' group document "On Restructuring Today and in the Foreseeable Future" again indicates that the group retains in its arsenal "emergency actions involving millions of people if necessary." Their meaning is clear. What do you think of this formula?

[Miroshin] I regard it as adventurism. I am convinced that these methods of "struggle" for one's beliefs cannot be tolerated. Especially as they are at variance with the law adopted by the Supreme Soviet. I believe that the document you mentioned expresses a standpoint that is utterly wrong, and I am distressed for those colleagues of mine who signed it.

[Karkhanin] "Many millions of voters are pinning their hopes and aspirations on the activity of the interregional deputies' group," Muscovite I. Kharitonov claims. At the same time, the content of many letters confirms that far from all zealous supporters of the interregional deputies' group have a clear idea of its aims and methods....

[Miroshin] I have realized for myself at meetings with my voters that people do indeed know little about the stance taken by the group and some of its members, because there is a shortage of information. Naturally, voters' interest is high. I tell them that, in my opinion, the stand taken by the group on the majority of issues is correct. I also do not conceal what I have already said to you: I certainly am not always in agreement with the methods and tactics employed by the leadership of the interregional deputies' group.

It seems to me that the leaders of the group are very quick to pick up the mood of those voters particularly dissatisfied with the socioeconomic situation in the country. However, picking up these moods and struggling for real change are quite different things. Playing on people's moods and exploiting the difficulties of the situation is tantamount to whipping up feeling and encouraging extremes. I am convinced that deputies' persistent work in the Supreme Soviet committees and at grassroots level is far more useful to the cause.

[Karkhanin] The mail also contains letters which draw a sharp line between the majority of the group's members and its "spearhead," as one reader put it. "Whatever words they use to hide behind, I can see from many of the speeches made by these deputies in the past that they need power and only power—at any price. Or are they unsure that they will gain power by constitutional means? I too am unsure.... These deputies have lost my respect"—that is the opinion of A. Kozlov from Smolensk. Perhaps his tone is rather on the harsh side, but there is possibly food for thought in what he says.

[Miroshin] One must take into account that there is an extremely broad range of opinions on specific issues in the interregional deputies' group. There are extremely radical opinions, utopian opinions, in short, different opinions. Sometimes—not often, but it does happen—someone in the group will voice what I would call a

reactionary view. The incident with the call for a political strike shows that there are people in the interregional deputies' group who try to use the lack of competence of some of their colleagues to lead them into taking ill-considered action. Consequently, when formulating your stand as a deputy, you really should not be guided by considerations of solidarity and solidarity alone. You must weigh up and consider your stand from every angle: Then you will not find yourself being drawn into dubious "ventures."

'Democratic Platform' Official Interviewed

PM290141390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with V.N. Shostakovskiy, member of "Democratic Platform" Coordinating Committee and rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, by own correspondent S. Kiselev under rubric "Your Position": "Is There Such a Party? All-Union Conference of Party Clubs and Organizations Held in Moscow To Set Up 'Democratic Platform in CPSU.' Just What Is It?"—date, place unspecified; first paragraph editorial introduction]

[Text] A faction? A party opposition? Or perhaps a line aimed at splitting the CPSU? Our correspondent met with V.N. Shostakovskiy, member of the "Democratic Platform" Coordinating Committee and rector of the Moscow Higher Party School.

[Kiselev] Vyacheslav Nikolayevich, what were the motives behind convening the All-Union Conference of Party Clubs?

[Shostakovskiy] The convening of the conference was prompted above all by the profound dissatisfaction on the part of a considerable section of the party masses with the way in which renewal processes are proceeding within the party itself. There is growing concern not only among communists but even among nonparty people that the stoppages, delays, and sluggishness in renewing the CPSU have led to a paradoxical situation whereby the party could impede—or is already impeding—perestroyka processes as a whole.

I don't think anyone thought that the party clubs' conference would attract representatives from 102 cities or that more than 1,200 people—including 455 delegates entitled to a full vote—would take part in it. The very fact that representation was so widespread shows, I think, just how widespread the feelings of alarm and dissatisfaction are with the way things are going in the party.

[Kiselev] How are things going in the party? What is your position?

[Shostakovskiy] Sometime in the mid-twenties the party broke with the range of democratic principles which had made it possible for a union of like-minded people to function as a new type of political organization. A different model was established with a different system of intraparty relations. The principle of party comradeship and the equality of all communists was replaced by an army-style hierarchy: People talked seriously about the party generals, officer corps, and privates.

Unfortunately, this rigid model is still alive and holding sway today. Essentially even the packages of quite productive ideas contained in the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference are being implemented extremely inconsistently and indecisively. Take the glasnost problem, for instance. There was a resolution "On Glasnost" and the party should ideally have set society a good example of openness. But communists are still unable to find out what is said at their Central Committee plenums. And, incidentally, this fact received a very sharp assessment at the party clubs' conference. The conference appealed to the Central Committee to ensure that the next CPSU Central Committee plenum is open. Communists should know everything that goes on in their party....

[Kiselev] You will agree that this problem is exceptionally important now that preparations are under way for the 28th CPSU Congress.

[Shostakovskiy] Naturally. The subject of the coming party congress was one of the central topics at the "Democratic Platform" conference. One of the most acute questions is the shaping of the corps of delegates to the congress. "Democratic Platform" advocated direct, multicandidate elections for congress delegates with a secret ballot and free nomination of candidates.

Today, citing the party statutes, efforts are being made to maintain the old multilayered procedure for electing delegates—a procedure which, of course, "filters out" certain communists not to the apparatus' liking and ensures a conservative majority. Unless we change this electoral procedure we will cast doubt on the work of the congress, the documents it adopts, and the composition of the central organs it elects. The power of the party masses should be implemented right now, during the preparations for the congress.

[Kiselev] The other day a Moscow newspaper made the following comment: The way in which the 28th party congress is held and the things it decides will determine whether or not the next, 29th, CPSU Congress is held....

[Shostakovskiy] That is a very reasonable way of putting it. I don't have any figures on this, but I think that, in the event of further halfhearted and compromise decisions being adopted, a considerable number of politically active, honorable, and constructively minded communists would leave the party. This is the party's last chance.

[Kiselev] Just 2 or 3 years ago the following type of argument was very popular: You want perestroyka? Be my guest! But everyone has to strive for renewal at their workplace and in their party organization. And rallies, party clubs, and platforms are all superfluous. It is not

out of the question that your opponents might raise these arguments today, too. What would your answer be?

[Shostakovskiy] In general, I'm a supporter of the existence of different platforms and even factions within the party. These should reveal different positions, outline them, and determine the amount of support for them within the party.

I think that if we could now formulate different platforms within the party, we would be able to reveal these positions and determine the support for them more clearly. Will this process lead to a split? I don't think so. I am profoundly convinced that to outline positions clearly leads not to a split but to a desire to bring these positions closer together on certain strategic priority issues. Of course, this process will not be painless and will probably be accompanied by certain losses. But it is totally necessary for the self-determination of the entire party.

[Kiselev] Yet—is there a real threat of a split in the party today?

[Shostakovskiy] Yes, there is. The threat is entirely real—but it doesn't come from our constituent conference or from the "Democratic Platform." It comes from our society's deep-rooted habit of looking for enemies rather than for consensus. It is rooted in the inequality of party members and in their realization of the diversity of their interests. The problem of a split also exists because there are profound contradictions between conservative and perestroyka forces. We are all witnessing the stratification and consolidation of these forces.

Certain events—the first rally in Leningrad, for instance—confirm the idea that antiperestroyka forces have moved from demonstrations and declarations to political action. I do not rule out the possibility that such events could develop quite turbulently.

[Kiselev] But there is another side to this process, too. You will probably agree that the resignation of leading party figures in Chernigov, Tyumen, and Volgograd under pressure from the "grassroots" is of particular interest among the many turbulent events of the past month....

[Shostakovskiy] Yes, this is already a trend—and a very hopeful trend at that. I am best acquainted with the Tyumen situation, and what happened there, quite frankly, delights me, since it is a sign of growing self-awareness and of communists' dignity and responsibility. People can no longer tolerate perestroyka without change or continue exhausting themselves by "marking time."

[Kiselev] The subject of a multiparty system in the USSR has recently been raised more and more persistently and vocally in society. What reflection did it receive in the "Democratic Platform?"

[Shostakovskiy] If we are seriously talking about economic reform, if we are seriously affirming a diversity of forms of ownership and a mixed economy, let's talk seriously about a multiparty system, too. After all, what will accompany the reforms, what will they result in? Clearly, new social groups will emerge and society's social stratification will fundamentally change. What does this mean? Simply that a diversity of political interests will appear and the socioeconomic base for ensuring that these interests can take the form of political parties will emerge.

This is an entirely natural course of events in a civil society, and the CPSU's strategic policy cannot fail to take this into account. "Democratic Platform" advocates precisely this.

[Kiselev] Won't the party be weakened by political competition?

[Shostakovskiy] Nobody can either weaken or strengthen the party apart from the party itself. We advocate its renewal. The power of the party masses should be the cornerstone of party reform. Only when this power is implemented can we say that there is a party capable of leading social progress. [Shostakovskiy ends]

Incidentally

Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Shostakovskiy is a candidate Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy. His views on CPSU reform are part of his electoral program.

OGONEK Editor Discusses Gorbachev's Future

OW3001060190 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1210 GMT 29 Jan 90

[OGONEK chief editor Vitaliy Alekseyevich Korotich interview at his office with NHK correspondent Kobayashi; time not given; translated from Russian]

[Text] In the Soviet Union, the forerunner of perestroyka and reform, the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is scheduled to be held next month. Many people expect that, during this plenum, there will be an outpouring of criticism of General Secretary Gorbachev by the conservative faction on the deteriorating domestic economic problems and national issues. On the other hand, how does the reformist faction look at Gorbachev's handling of the national conflict between the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenia SSR and the moves on the part of the conservatives? Correspondent Kobayashi interviewed Korotich, chief editor of the reformist magazine OGONEK. [Video cuts to show Kobayashi standing by a Soyuzpechat newspaper kiosk in Moscow]

[Kobayashi] What will become of Gorbachev's position in light of the national issues? As the world ponders on this, here in Moscow, various views are being aired. It would be more accurate to describe these as a parade of irresponsible statements by sensation-seekers, rather than a case of free contention of ideas. My feeling is that, in a situation like this, the people are also exuberant with the joy of being able to speak freely. Amid this rampage

of sometimes irresponsible arguments, OGONEK is one magazine which has the people's trust. That is because it is in the forefront of perestroyka. The circulation of this magazine has increased by 30 percent this year, reaching 4.6 million copies. While most of them are subscriptions, on the 3 days the magazine comes out in a month, lines form at kiosks like this. It is rather hard to get a copy. We were able to obtain a copy of the galley of the latest issue of OGONEK, which will come out on 29 January. The main theme of the 29 January issue is: Overthrow the dictatorship, advocate a multiparty system. The article cites Romania as an example and says that dictatorship always leads to corruption. It asserts that, currently, recognition of other political parties is the only way for the CPSU to be recognized. The chief editor of this magazine is Korotich, a pioneer of perestroyka. He is noted for his foresight in politics. I conducted my interview at the chief editor's office. [video cuts to Kobayashi interviewing Korotich in the latter's office]

[Begin Recording] [Kobayashi] Vitaliy Alekseyevich, so the dispatch of troops turned out to be a mistake by President Gorbachev?

[Korotich] This was not a mistake. It was a mistake that they were brought in 3 days too late, after more than 1,000 apartments had been burglarized in Baku, after people had been thrown from windows and burned alive in the streets. This went on for 3 days. The militia telephone was not operating in Baku. In Baku, the militia and troops did not protect anybody. In other words, what I am saying is that much could have been straightened out if it had been done in a timely manner. Today, surgical methods are already needed there. I think that, without the introduction of force, very little could be improved there.

But, this is only part of the crisis. There is a crisis in the Baltic region, but this crisis is being solved by parliamentary methods. There is a crisis in Azerbaijan. This is a crisis which includes the opening of 800 kilometers of border between Iran and the Soviet Union. It is a very internationalized crisis. It is a crisis in which people are dying. It is a crisis in which two republics find themselves in a state of war. It is a crisis in which a plant in Baku which has been producing beds has begun turning out weapons to arms its brigades. It is a situation where, in Armenia, they say that there are armed formations and a general mobilization has been proclaimed, circumventing the state.

That is what is frightening, it is a crisis in which the state cannot control the situation. It is a crisis which, so far, has not shown the ability of the state to improve the situation. The situation is very much out of hand, and I am afraid that today it will be very difficult to cope without force. [Video cuts to Soviet troops firing assault rifles into the air in the face of a mob, retreating in armored personnel carriers]

[Kobayashi] Do you not think that the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum will be decisive for perestroyka and for President Gorbachev?

[Korotich] Of course. This plenum will be the last opportunity to attack Gorbachev from the conservative's level, and I think it will be a very serious opportunity. They will attack. I can say this with confidence. Very strong meetings are being held in the country. Currently, my correspondents are flying to Volgograd, where meetings are being held near the Obkom [Oblast Party Committee Meetings have just been held in Tyumen, where the Obkom first secretary has stepped down, in Chernigov, and other places. I have just been in Kharkov, where all the party secretaries were replaced.

Today, many of those who have become accustomed to power are losing it, and will do everything to retain this power in their hands, because they link the fall of their prestige and strength with Gorbachev personally. They are his enemies. They will do anything to oppose him. This is very complicated, because there is a constant effort to link the events in Azerbaijan with what is happening in our country. The point is that they are trying to shift them to Moscow. Meetings of Azerbaijanis are already taking place in Moscow. If pogroms against Russians begin in Baku, I do not know how chauvinistic Russian organizations in Moscow will behave. Everything is very dangerous. This is not an Azerbaijani problem.

[Kobayashi] This is....

[Korotich interrupts] This is a general Soviet, all-union [problem].

[Kobayashi] Will President Gorbachev hold out?

[Korotich] You know, today it is hard to say. I would like to see him consolidate his position. I, and many of those who are related to the process of liberalization, will struggle for Gorbachev's existence. But, today many attacks on him are coming from the Left and Right, and they are attempting to link the entire complexity of the situation in the country with Gorbachev.

In actual fact, Gorbachev is paying. Gorbachev is paying for everything. The old scores of Stalin, Brezhnev, and Chernenko are all on his table. He has to pay for them all. He is paying for Afghanistan, he is paying for the retarded development of the Muslims, he is paying for the suppression of the Baltic republics, he has inherited everything. That is why there needs to be a Gorbachev. He is as much a product of the times as its victim. So, I think that today Gorbachev needs to make quicker and more decisive reforms.

My forecast is that the process of disintegration will continue and the state must control it. This process will occur in the Transcaucasus and other places. All the same, today the state must balance and control this process. If it manages to do so, it should become calmer by summer. Currently, it is winter, the most difficult

period. It is winter, when the food situation is at its worst, when there is nothing. Some time in March or April, if we make it [Yesli my pereydem], first of all elections will take place and secondly some grass will begin to show, it will be easier. Further, we shall again run into the problems of agriculture, into the reform of agricultural. If this summer does not save us either, then I cannot give any guarantees for the autumn, although the party congress will be held in autumn. In other words, this is the decisive move. It is difficult and decisive. [End Recording]

Official Comments on Interethnic Enmity

LD2901230590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The problem of interethnic relations is now the country's number one problem; this can be said without exaggeration. Genrikh Borovik, Soviet Peace Committee chairman, is in our studio. Genrikh Andrianovich, your views on the problem.

[Borovik] Fortunately we have today seen that things have become somewhat more calm. This is a hopeful sign. However, everything we have seen over the past few months—it has already been a year, one can say—will, I think, compel us to agree with the notion that no interethnic problems, be they territorial, linguistic, or cultural are worth even a child's tiny tear, as Dostoyevskiy would put it, or all the more, a human life, if you see if from the viewpoint of our present, cruel reality. The introduction of the state of emergency, a measure we have been compelled to take, is, of course, a hard one to have taken. However, the laws in any self-respecting state do not allow a fratricidal war, or racial killings, of course, this most serious and barbaric kind of killing.

It is convenient to look for the causes of our tragedies only in the period preceding perestroyka, just as before we used to look for causes in the period preceding the revolution. One does not have to be too bold to assert that everything used to be exaggerated earlier, be it brotherhood of peoples, or internationalism. Now, they say, the lie has been nailed and people have been given an opportunity of settling accounts. Indeed, there always used to be many lies; the mountains of peoples' tragedies during the times of Stalin were even bigger, but there also used to be a sacred feeling of genuine internationalism. Of this we are convinced not only through our victory in the war and during the difficult years of restoration. Baku itself has long been an example of a brotherhood of labor, a fraternity of many nationalities; it is not an insignificant example, either. Thoughtlessly debunking the friendship among peoples, having termed it something that is false: Do we not thereby commit a crime not only against the past, but also, and what is even more terrible, against the future? Do we not pervert our children, persuading them that the notion "Soviet people" does not exist, that it is merely a deceitful combination of words? Do we not deform their souls and their lives, setting up for them the single-nationality, ethnically pure kindergartens and even being proud of it? Do we not untie the hands of all manner of those who would make a career out of being nationalists—here I am using Gorbachev's expression precisely as he did—do we not untie the hands of criminals and, quite simply, fascists?

After all, as far as they are concerned, there is no more convenient or quicker path to popularity other than shouting about saving the nation from the criminal designs of aliens and perfidious neighbors. A serious problem of interethnic relations does, of course, exist. Its solution requires intelligent work, a sense of responsibility and time.

There is, however, one condition without the fulfilment of which all our good intentions may, I fear, come to a disastrous end. I have here in mind the application of our laws.

[Announcer] However, Genrikh Andrianovich, a question arises here: What laws? The ones already in force, providing for one's liability for killings, or those that are still being worked out?

[Borovik] Being liable for killings is something that is already, as it were, it is of course somewhat late in the day, the blood has already been shed. But we have a law that is in force, a law that stipulates one is liable for insulting national dignity, for propagating national emnity, orally. This crime is regarded as a crime against the state and is punishable by fines of up to R2000 or terms of imprisonment of up to 3 years. I am profoundly convinced we would not have had to introduce the state of emergency now if 3 years ago, when Armenian and Azerbaijani national dignity was publicly insulted for the first time, the most zealous of the abusers, including the known representatives of the intelligentsia, had been fined, if only R30 to start with, but this being mandatorily made public nationwide.

[Borovik] Unfortunately, everything was the other way around. The authorities encouraged them, gave them orders, honorary titles. But, after all, failing to apply the law is just as illegal as directly violating the law. Our organs of justice unfortunately bestir themselves only when blood is flowing; even then they are, as a rule, considerably late.

Incidentally, is is not high time today to recall not just those first abusers, but also those who, for incomprehensible reasons, failed to bring them to account for committing crimes against the state at a time when it was still possible to avert the bloodshed?

[Announcer] Well, you call for firm rule, is that how we can understand it? What is to become of the principles of democracy which in our country are only just beginning to get a foothold?

[Borovik] All the more so: Democracy is, first and foremost, the law. We are very afraid of recoiling back,

from the democratization of society again to the firm rule, as you correctly put it, from dialogue to banging one's fist on the table. After all, that is not the only alternative. Perestroyka can be destroyed not just by dictatorship, but also by fruitless persuasion, seen by some people as paralysis of power, as an invitation to a free-for-all, including genocide. It is precisely these people who are now endeavoring to accuse the entire Azerbaijani people of reprisals against Armenians and the whole of the Armenian people of attempts to wipe Azerbaijanis out and to now accuse both peoples alike of an irreconcilable hatred towards the Russians so as to provoke in Russia, by way of response, hatred of Caucasians and, at the same time, of all non-Russians.

The recent events in Moscow, Leningrad, and some other cities, including the shameful pogrom in the Central House of Men of Letters confirm this. It is difficult to doubt these people also have their own protectors for whom the principle "the worse it is, the better" is of vital importance in the struggle against perestroyka.

If we fail to find within ourselves the political will to speedily and effectively apply the law which makes it a crime to propagate national enmity and to apply it to all those who violate it and to apply it to everyone who fails to apply it we will be doomed in the future to have recourse to extreme measures. It will be late, however, for blood will already have been shed. Democracy can be protected only in one way: By observing the law currently in force as strictly as possible. If it is imperfect, let us improve it. If we do not respect today's laws, we will not respect the laws of the future either, no matter how wise they turn out to be. Insulting the national dignity is not just a crime against the individual or even against an individual people living on our country's territory; it is a crime against the whole of our society, since what is being violated are the basic principles of life of a great, multinational country.

CPSU Official Views Interethnic Relations

LD3001055490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Interview with Dr Ramazan Abdulatipov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Relations Between Nationalities Analysis and Forecasting Section, by journalist Galina Kalashnikova, in the studio—live]

[Text] [Galina Kalashnikova] (Ramazan Khajimuratovich), now the expression—interethnic relations—has ceased to be an expression which is good only for monographs. Behind it are blood, grief, tears and conflicts with everyone trying to find an answer to the question whether these can be solved. What is your attitude as a man, as a citizen, to the events that are now taking place?

[Ramazan Abdulatipov] It seems to me that now unfortunately almost everyone is engaging in problems of interethnic relations. It is fine when they are getting involved in the practical solution of this or that problem, but it's bad when it becomes a fad. I even know a comrade from one of our universities, who in 1985, when the law on struggling against alcoholism was adopted, wrote a pamphlet about alcoholism. Now he is working on a pamphlet about the problem of interethnic relations. To some extent we are simultaneously plagued on the one hand by incompetence, when we refer to specialists, to people who are indeed meant to deal with these issues, and on the other, by the lack of knowledge even among the people who are involved in these conflicts, involved in all these things. And when you talk to them....

[Kalashnikova, interrupting] Are you referring to the administration, the authorities which are meant to....

[Abdulatipov, interrupting] Well, on the one hand these are equally party and soviet bodies, both locally and in the center to some extent. And the people who are involved in these conflicts, who perhaps even with the best will in the world—take today, for instance, they held placards stating that the country's leadership was guilty of these tragedies, etc. [sentence as heard] But whatever decision is made today by the country's leadership, even if it's the most considered decisions, by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, by the party Central Committee, none of their decisions is even partly accepted. I won't even speak of complete acceptance, either in Azerbaijan or in Armenia. To a large extent the question is today reduced to: Give me back Karabakh! No I won't.

[Kalashnikova] Then no third position is entertained by the sides?

[Abdulatipov] Unfortunately, no compromise option is being entertained by the sides. This is (?evident), for instance, particularly with the introduction of a state of emergency or the measures that were adopted by the Supreme Soviet to stabilize the situation. In effect, they have aggravated the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around Nagorno-Karabakh, as we say. So here is a situation which has moved away from solving specific problems which are indeed of interest to the people. These problems have transformed into something completely different.

Well, I am not going to speak about any national feelings, because people react very sharply and I am convinced that if I say a single careless word today there will be dozens of letters with accusations both directed to the Central Committee and to the mass media, including television. But let's look at a specific solution to the problems of a specific man in the street, as we say, in the same Nagorno-Karabakh. What does he need today? He needs socioeconomic issues to be resolved, although this probably applies to other regions, too. Second, if he is a representative of the Armenian nationality, he needs the fulfillment of his ethno-cultural requirements, respect for his history, and the ability to get information from the republic, from his republic, I mean the neighboring Armenian republic.

All these are questions which have arisen completely justifiably. But this situation has somehow (?gone astray). The point is that representatives of all kinds of national groups resident in other republics are also in the same kind of situation. The problem is not just one of the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh.

If we want to solve this problem, we will probably have to pay more attention to solving these specific questions. But now the issue has completely moved to territorial claims, it has completely moved into the realm of mentality. As far as sensible solutions are concerned....

[Kalashnikova, interrupting] So to put it simply, when you say—into the realm of mentality—it simply means mutual hatred and hostility.

[Abdulatipov] Indeed, it is hostility and hatred which accumulate from day to day. I have had meetings with apparently the most sensible representatives of both sides, but one has to understand them. All this is accumulating, these every day killings, persecutions, this hatred, all this accumulates and makes it so that one man, even against his better judgement, begins to hate the other man.

[Kalashnikova] Nevertheless, first, this situation cannot go on indefinitely because the state indeed has to protect the people living on its territory and who are in danger there right now. That's the first point. Second, is what you mentioned—solving the social program, the socio-ethnic, sociopsychological program in Nagorno-Karabakh. After all, this program was laid down and some concrete steps were taken, immediately after the Armenian residents in Nagorno-Karabakh declared their wish to separate from Azerbaijan. Yet these measures, this widely-announced program, have led to nothing. The situation has indeed become more critical. So does it follow that that was a wrong move?

[Abdulatipov] An appropriate background has to be created. So far we have failed to truly create this background even at the level of the leaderships of these republics, to create such a favorable background at the level of, let's say, the communists, on the basis of which all other measures or undertakings could be built.

[Kalashnikova] In other words, groups of people who could shoulder the burden of compromise or the responsibility for reaching a compromise....

[Abdulatipov interrupting] Thats right.

[Kalashnokova]....or at least to express a clear desire for reaching a compromise.

[Abdulatipov] If you recall, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met more than once with both deputies and the public from both sides. Frequent assurances were given that they would continue these meetings locally. But in fact no organizations, no institutions of even apparently the most informal nature have met, come to an arrangement, or discussed this issue. Naturally all this accumulates. It is being used in every way for national games which in part transform also into nationalist games. Then tragedy follows.

[Kalashnikova] Your section is called the Analysis and Forecasting Section. So you are supposed to analyze appropriately situations which prevail today, right now, and furthermore, forecast those that will prevail the day after tomorrow or in a week's time. How can your section influence these situations in practice?

[Abdulatipov] First, I should say that both the party and soviet bodies are not yet properly equipped with the science, this science, let's call it sociology, or rather even applied science, applied sociology. That is why in most cases—and this was said also at the September plenum which was devoted to the nationalities issue—unfortunately we are late in all these cases, for the most part, so far we still resemble firemen putting the fire out once it has broken out.

For instance, let's take the Baltics. We all knew that social, economic, demographic, cultural and linguistic, and other problems were growing there. But measures which could have been taken to remove the conflict nature of the situation, to prevent conflicts, were not taken on time. For example, when they started saying in the Baltics—let's make Lithuanian or Estonian the state language—we started quoting everywhere that Lenin was categorically against it, that Lenin used to say that state language was a repressive measure, and so on and so forth. But in fact Lenin wrote this in 1914, when he was in fact categorically against a federal state, that is, he spoke in favor of a centralized, unitary state. But Lenin was a dialectician and as the situation changed, he also changed his point of view.

[Kalashnikova] That kind of thing should be made clear.

[Abdulatipov] He was the founder of the formation of our federation, the Soviet Socialist Federation. Furthermore, in the 1920s, when a number of national formations began to declare their language the state language, Lenin did not speak out against it even once.

I am not saying that making a language the state language is a universal panacea. But at the same time the situation should not have been aggravated. It seems that we should have adopted a law, and first and foremost we should have adopted this law on languages at the state level. What did we end up with? Now every republic is adopting its own law and indeed large numbers of the Russian-speaking populations—and these are not just Russians, these are representatives of various nationalities inside the republics—have found themselves in a restrictive situation. If in fact we are beginning to carry out some kind of scientific analysis, it would appear logical in this respect first of all, at the Supreme Soviet, at the Congress of People's Deputies, to come to an arrangement about the powers of the Union and the union republics.

[Kalashnikova] At the level of a law? Simply by adopting a law on this, a straightforward, clear law which everyone can understand?

[Abdulatipov] That's right. One more problem which I think is important simply in the sphere of mentality. I followed this, it was very openly said both at the 19 party conference and it was said very clearly at the plenum on the nationalities issue, that all our nationalities and ethnic groups have suffered from deformations in the nationalities policy and deformations in socialism. All right, so we have established that we have suffered and overcome these deformations. Some have suffered more, others have suffered less. Some have in fact already been evicted and subjected to repressive measures. These were indeed tragedies of entire peoples. But again, what is the situation at various levels, starting with what you see when you actually visit a republic and ending with—I am in no way against people's deputies, I see these positive phenomena in the development of our democracy in a very positive way—but you have probably noticed yourself, every deputy speaks on behalf of his region and he starts saying that it is precisely his region, precisely his nationality, precisely his people that have suffered most. [sentence as heard]

[Kalashnikova] Which are your people, by the way? This is something that viewers will be interested in.

[Abdulatipov] I come from the peoples of Dagestan, I am an Avar.

Here, too, we get the same kind of claims. Just recently I was in Georgia and I read how one of their publications wrote almost hysterically: Is there any other people which has suffered so much? You see. I am not saying that the Georgian people have suffered less or more than others. That is not the point. These perpetual and endless mutual recriminations. Well, Stalin did his bloody deeds and died a long time ago. Today we are using that very same Stalin to break up our federation.

[Kalashnikova] In order to attain our own purposes.

[Abdulatipov] To attain our own purposes. It is a form of neo-Stalinism. And they call everyone who thinks differently a Stalinist. As soon as you say one word in defense of, let's say, socialism or in defense of internationalism, you risk immediately being branded a Stalinist. At the same time, they have no position.

Obviously a union republic should be sovereign but again proceeding from the provisions which should be fashioned within a federal state, if not a federation.

[Kalashnikova] We are not the only federal state in the world. To what extent do you make use of world experience? What can we find out from the experience gathered by other states, other people?

[Abdulatipov] Well, there are federal states of all kinds in different countries. We have studied their experiences. I can tell you that we have even worked with our embassies (? in the course) of preparing for [word indistinct] the party Central Committee. There is all manner of experience. For instance, we do not have a federal state to the same extent as the United States of America. Over there if one state lags behind another by, let's say, more than 20 or 25 percent in many indices, the federal budget comes in to provide assistance. In our country the difference between, let's say Estonia and Tajikistan in many development indices is by a factor of 2.5 to 250 percent.

But if we have a federal state questions of this kind should be resolved. And furthermore, furthermore, Lenin said sometime, and this is the most classic example when we talk about the development of the functions of the federation itself, Lenin used to say in particular—there were 10, under the formation agreement there were (? about) 10 union and union-republican ministries—and Lenin used to say that it would be sufficient to retain, let's say, two or three all-union ministries—defense ministry, let's say, ministry of security, perhaps, and of foreign political activity. All other issues should be solved by the republics independently.

Here is another contradiction concerning this independence. Let's take the debate about the independence of the Lithuanian Republic. As soon as the question of the ethnic area of the Polish population comes up, everything is categorically denied. No one recognizes any right for their self-determination, that is, a whole revolt is being staged against the Polish population resident in Lithuania. Or, for instance, when we talk about the national sovereignty of the Georgian Republic, that is justified. But at the same time we do not want to take this independence, these liberties to the level of autonomous formations, for example, Abkhazia, South Ossetia. Within a democracy, even a bourgeois democracy, theses issues are resolved much more easily. They are more easily coordinated.

[Kalashnikova] What is it, political experience....

[Abdulatipov, interrupting] Yes, largely it is political experience in resolving these (?problems).

[Kalashnikova]...political culture which we lack?

[Abdulatipov] Well, I wouldn't say—well, yes, we lack—our standard of culture is low, including political culture, the political culture both of the objects and the subjects of government on both sides. But I would like to say that even in the present democratic situation, as we like to emphasize, in the Western world, federal relations in Spain, for instance, or in other countries, are resolved in a very harsh way. The least insubordination of this or that national formation, let's say, is punished very harshly equally with economic and other measures. Whereas we more and more speak of political methods and full agreement [word indistinct]. But the point is that in order to implement political methods there should be the appropriate political situation, there should be the appropriate background. We haven't even properly agreed on things yet. We do not recognize many

of the accords from the 1920s. There is no new law on the federation, there is no new constitution which we need. So the situation is being used by various groups in order to come to power.

[Kalashnikova] So what's the way out?

[Abdulatipov] The national movements that have formed in various republics—I too was in favor of setting up national fronts and so on—but I would like to ask you and the viewers: Which of you could tell me specifically that setting up these fronts has improved the situation in this or that republic, or this or that region? They indeed raised a number of existing problems which hadn't been raised by either party or soviet bodies. They drew attention to this—praise and glory be upon them. But further on the national movements, some of them, have started to transform into nationalist movements and have begun to set up their national political structures. They started to feel that independently of many social or other structures they could come to power. And this sweet smell of proximity to power, for which they very strongly criticize the apparatchiks, this smell is drawing them on and on. And unfortunately often there is no other evidence [word indistinct]. They are mostly pursuing this struggle.

If they were really interested in national interests and needs, well, the position of the general secretary, the position of the party on this issue has been clearly formulated at the party Central Committee plenum. There is a basis which can be used as a springboard. I am not saying that it is some kind of a dogma, that it must be followed to the letter. No one is saying that. But what we achieved, we in fact all got involved in preparing this platform, everyone from academicians to postgraduates, who could contribute something. No one can accuse us that it is a document prepared by apparatchiks and the like.

Until very recently I was a head of a philosophy department. I know the positions of specialists, of scientists. There was not a single specialist's material that we did not use to greater or lesser extent in preparing for the plenum. To a certain extent it is a platform prepared through joint efforts.

When I spoke at a party and economic aktiv meeting in Lithuania, some of the Lithuanian comrades, including party workers, said: You are too late with your platform. You have fallen way behind with your scientific papers, and so on. But when I asked them specifically what they would propose and what had been done to implement these ideas that are in the platform, no one could say anything, apart from two or three overambitious proposals.

All right, fine, they adopted the state language. But how does the law on the status of state lanaguage get adopted, again in Lithuania? I say to them: Dear friends, I have been speaking Russian for 70 years under the Soviet power. You have been speaking it for 50 years. Neither you nor I know Russian properly yet. We speak with accents. So why do you, including the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet, demand that non-Lithuanians have to learn, know and pass exams in a language over 2 years, if they want to carry on working in leading posts? Why were we given 70 or 50 years to learn a language, while we are given 2 years, thinking at the same time that we are at the level of European thought on issues of democracy and so on?

So we have a great dispartiy. We say one thing and do another. And I don't think these are simply naive people. It's we who are naive. But these people are not naive. Of course they are pursuing some extremist steps and the like, including the party leaving the CPSU. Many people think that the party which left the CPSU is a more restructured party and one that's more communist than the CPSU.

If that were the case that would be a great blessing and I would be one of the first to vote for it, because we would have experience in how to restructure the party. But the point is that in terms of its ideological and other platforms this party has gone over to a completely different, Sajudis, ideology, national-socialist type of ideology. There is not even a whiff of any socialism, any internationalism there. The departure of the party represents political preparation for secession from the USSR. I can forecast for you that this kind of secession is quite possible, that is, if not actual secession then a declaration of possible secession. It is quite possible we will come up against this in the near future.

[Kalashnikova] What is your attitude to this?

[Abdulatipov] Well we have the right to secession and every republic can use this right. But one thing is the right to leave and another is the mechanisms of that secession. The great helmsman Stalin left us with a great legacy in that respect. He wrote in the right to secede, but nobody got around to asking him: How do we do it? So we have the entry about the right to secede but no one knows how you can get out.

[Kalashnikova] You mean the complex economic, social, and cultural relations [words indistinct].

[Abdulatipov] I mean that even a legal mechanism for secession is lacking. For instance, if the Lithuanian comrades who are talking about secession showed it to us and said: Here is the mechanism for secession, read through it and let's start talking about it and part our ways in a civilized way. If a man and a woman, for instance, have a family together and live together for at least 5 years, they already have many things in common, economic and many other issues. And likewise here. There are even historical issues. There were some oblasts that were transferred to the Lithuanian Republic, for instance. There is economic, military, transport considerations, roads. They, too, may have their claims against central, federal bodies, but federal bodies have their interests here too.

[Kalashnikova] So what's the way out? Is there a light at the end of the tunnel or not? You mentioned that there is a platform, that measures have been prepared but they are not operating, they are not working. So what should the government do? What advice would you give as a social forecaster, so that these masures start working, so that the mechanism comes into action?

[Abdulatipov] Right. First, the point is that relations between nationalities, and I would like to emphasize this especially, are linked to the general socioeconomic situation in the country, here first of all. Second, if we move to the field of politics, we will see here a weakening of central authority. A weakening of central authority leads to everyone starting locally to solve various problems of posession and exercise authority.

[Kalashnikova] Just like it has been in Russia for time immemorial?

[Abdulatipov] That's right. I do not believe in the application of some kind of drastic measures but political will should be manifested, because power without will is in effect a lack of power. And that creates a situation where everyone starts solving his own problems, including those that are mercenary, egoistical, self-centered, etc.

[Kalashnikova] In coming to the end of our interview—we are now being watched by millions of viewers—what would you like to say as a farewell? Perhaps some Eastern saying. The East has always been famed for its wisdom.

[Abdulatipov] Unfortunately, today our East is not always manifesting this wisdom, although one cannot do without wisdom. Wisdom is probably largely the application of thought in practice. It seems to me that every man who speaks about his nationality, his people, his home, should probably think that others too have their nationality, their home, their family. And if your neighbor is not enjoying well-being, trying to get well-being just for yourself in my mind is futile.

Today, for instance, we spoke about the Azerbaijani and Armenian situation. Today we have wives who are refugees in one republic and their husbands are refugees in another republic. What use is that? Are we entitled to pass this hostility on to our descendants who will come after us? No one is going to sort out these relations for us. And the ones who suffer most from this situation are people who are completely innocent of any of this. That's the most terrible thing.

I believe, I hope, I was born and lived in Dagestan, worked and studied in Leningrad and worked for 8 years in Murmansk, and I know, not as a specialist, not as a scientist but as a human being, I feel for all these nationalities, ethnic groups and so on. [sentence as heard] I think that we have prospects. We just have to leave aside our arrogances and pretensions and get down to what the people need, get involved in their lives, their interests, rather than simply voicing these slogans.

[Kalashnikova] Thank you.

Lessons of Past 'Extremism' Must Be Heeded

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[Vyacheslav Kostikov article: "Deaf-mute Demons. Notes on Extremism"]

[Text] In the summer of last year in Zvenigorod, in one of the wings of the old monastery, I came across an old icon "The Virgin Softening Evil Hearts." I cannot say that I was struck by the beauty of this icon. You could hardly expect to find a true masterpiece in a small exhibition of recent additions. It was the title that stuck in my mind, as if waiting for an occasion to be applied to our current circumstances which are all but softening.

Recently, during the work of the Second Congress of People's Deputies, you felt almost sick at times at the sight of eyes flashing in anger, accusations hurled in fits of temper, and unwillingness to recognize someone else's truth, someone else's opinion....

There is nothing surprising in this. During the 70 years of authoritarian rule our society did not acquire the much needed immunity against extremism; nor could it have done in conditions of the Stalin-Brezhnev political "culture." Violence breeds violence and kills the ability for dialogue. The false democracy in our country led to a special form of public debate—a dialogue of the deaf. In the hall of the recent Congress of People's Deputies this form of communication was observed, unfortunately, quite frequently.

Intolerance, in my opinion, is now all but the main danger for the stability of the perestroyka. This is why, in the absence of democratic skills, we must treasure the few stabilizing instruments which have been created during the short period of perestroyka. Among these stabilizers I would single out two—the USSR Supreme Soviet as the mouthpiece of the democratic and collective will of the people, and M.S. Gorbachev as the embodiment of the philosphy of perestroyka.

Yearning for 'Strong Hand'

Even people who occupy diametrically opposed positions on the ideas of perestroyka agree today that society has entered a crucial stage of development. In this context you hear cited the words of the French historian Alexis de Tocqueville, who, analyzing the experience of the French Revolution, wrote that the most perilous moment for a government comes when it embarks on reforms. "Very often people who put up with the harshest of laws without complaining throw them over by force when they are eased...," he said.

An observation which could have been drawn from our times. A spring that has been compressed for decades straightens out with all the more force, and sometimes recklessness. The less developed the masses' consciousness is, the more it is swathed in dogmas and prejudices.

A few days ago a voters' action group in a residential district put up a poster on the door of the local food store with its empty shelves. It read: "Do you want to change your life? Run in the elections! Nominate your own candidates!" A slogan entirely in keeping with the spirit of the new times. But someone's impatient hand had scrawled over the top: "Let's have Stalin!"

Why make a secret of it, the yearning for a 'strong hand' is still very widespread among certain sections of the population. This is the price we are having to pay for the former inconsistency in unmasking both "the father of the nations" and his ideology. Furthermore, the make-believe mentality that was cultivated for decades is already looking for a new idol who will come and "take care of everything."

The eagerness to acquire a leader who will accept responsibility for everything and issue clear-cut orders as to what needs to be done is growing in step with the disillusionment in our ability for self-renewal.

The populist pull toward a strong hand is essentially a sign of a socioeconomic crisis. After all, the call "Give us a dictator!!!" is heard most often from people waiting in line and tired of the humiliation of waiting.

At the same time it would be wrong to exaggerate the importance of this trend. The "clamor of the street" reflects not so much a yearning for a strong hand as dissatisfaction with the slowness of change. It seems to me that an "expectation syndrome" is building up in society, a kind of collective psychological disorder stemming from dissatisfaction with the pace of reforms. The rapid speed of events in Eastern Europe is further exacerbating this social ailment, which is fraught with complications.

A comparative analysis of events in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria, and Romania indicates that the intensity of the break with political and party structures which have compromised themselves is the greater, the more primitive and stubborn the resistance of the apparatus to the overdue reforms is. It does not take a clairvoyant to see that in terms of resistance to reforms we most resemble the GDR and Romanian "models." Even today, judging by the speeches heard at the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the recent conference of representatives of the working class in the Great Kremlin Palace, our conservatives are simply unable to rid themselves of the idea of egalitarian and distributive happiness.

One of the key arguments used by the advocates of a "strong hand" is the deep-rooted fear of civil war in people's memory. Our women, mothers, and grandmothers can often be heard sighing: Just so long as there is no war....

Well, the memory of the millions of victims of the civil war which lives on in people's consciousness is indeed a call to reason. Nonetheless, one would like to reassure people that their fears are exaggerated. With the exception of a narrow section of people who resist perestroyka out of mercenary considerations, there are no classes in the country whose interests run counter to the ideas of renewal.

Why then does the question keep cropping up: "Is there a threat of civil war?" After all, it can be heard everywhere today in factory canteens, minister's waiting rooms, and streetcars, or among the crowd "relaxing" outside station bars.... Has it really been triggered only by the emotional shock of the conflict in the Transcaucasus?

Without exaggerating the danger of local conflicts spilling over into a wider conflict, I would nonetheless draw attention to such an alarming factor as the heightened excitability and irritability of both individual people and society as a whole. Waiting lines, poor transport services, the scandalous untidiness of cities and streets, drunkenness, overt hooliganism and bad language, bureaucratic boorishness—all this creates in cities, in particular large cities, the tense, almost morbid atmosphere which engenders aggressiveness in day-to-day life and serves as a breeding ground in society for "messianic" slogans and ideas. After all, it is no accident that the calm and sober tone of voice of Academician Abalkin with his well-considered propositions for leading the country out of the crisis, albeit without miracles, is a source of irritation to certain people, while recipes for "saving the Fatherland" proclaimed at a rally in Leningrad or the monument to Minin and Pozharskiy in Moscow evoke wild enthusiasm.

Fears are artificially encouraged also by a certain section of the conservative apparatus.

The logic behind their intimidation can be reduced to a simple formula: Do not touch the existing system, or.... The whole phraseology of this psychological manipulation reflects unconcealed egoism—a striving to hang on to power.

Difficult To Be Leader

M.S. Gorbachev finds himself at the intersection and the focus of all the contradictions of the current complex stage of renewal. Unquestionably, he remains the key figure of the perestroyka.

The opinion has been expressed that Gorbachev's prestige is due mainly to his foreign policy successes. This opinion, fostered especially by the conservative circles, also found its expression at the CPSU Central Committee December (1989) Plenum, when a member of the Central Committee, addressing the general secretary, expressed his conviction, stemming from a primitive understanding of the philosophy of our changes, that perestroyka plays into the hands of the Vatican.

Naturally, the foreign policy components of perestroyka which have made it possible to look to the future with

optimism and which have paved the way toward conversion have greatly boosted our prestige. However, the true place in people's hearts of the incumbent head of our state is, in my opinion, not determined primarily by the itineraries of his foreign trips. It is probably enough to mention just one itinerary in this context, the one along which he led Soviet servicemen out of Afghanistan. Tens of thousands of mothers and wives think well of Gorbachev not because of his brilliant speech to the European Parliament or his meeting with Pope John Paul II, but because they are able here, in their own country, to pray for their children's "health and prosperity" rather than their "eternal rest."

I believe that in our concern about food shortages and poorly supplied markets and shelves (as if in Brezhnev's time there had been no waiting lines and no shortages!) we do not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the moral and historical purification and the revival of charity and conscientiousness introduced into our society by perestroyka have already permitted millions of Soviet citizens to acquire the human dignity whose lack we unsuccessfully tried to compensate for at home and abroad with arrogant declarations about our countless "advantages."

And even the "conversion" of part of the military-industrial complex which is beginning to bear real, if as yet modest, fruit, would have been simply impossible without the "new thinking" which is rightly associated throughout the world with the name of the Soviet leader.

The conservatives cannot but be aware of this. Hence their constant attempts to lure Gorbachev into their ranks. If only he agreed to play the role which they assigned to Brezhnev and Chernenko! This attitude can be glimpsed in the Tbilisi events, in the persistent attempts to sow discord between the general secretary and the intelligentsia, and in the efforts to exacerbate the situation in the Baltic republics and to boost extremism in the Transcaucasus. The essence of this tactic is to push Gorbachev into making a serious mistake, make him fall out with parliament, and to fall prey to this mistake.

The difficulties of establishing democracy are also largely to be explained by the fact that in real politics the leader, whether he wants it or not, has to take into consideration the myths and legends which abound in mass consciousness.

You Reap What You Sow

The guardians of peculiarly interpreted "ideals" and "principles," it goes without saying, are prone to unite. On their own conditions. In one column, united in thought.... However, "friendship" based on political monopolism sooner or later fails and turns into the reverse.

The roots of many of the current social, political, and ethnic tensions lie in the long-term imposition of abstract "principles" divorced from human nature and morality. Any utopia, even if presented in the most attractive attire, ultimately engenders the extremism which stems from disillusionment. We must take our hat off to millions upon millions of honest and hardworking people who have reached the evening of their lives with paltry pensions and bad living conditions, plagued by need and illness, but do not allow themselves to be carried away by slogans of retribution and curses.

Extremism in the 20th century is essentially a global phenomenon. Currently, as we approach the turn of the century, television presents us virtually every day with pictures of violence—clashes between students and police in South Korea, Ulster, Corsican separatism, "Red Brigades" in Italy, religious intolerance in Lebanon, violence between the "Contras" and revolutionaries in Latin America....

For a long time we took an aloof attitude to these conflicts, viewing them as "birthmarks of capitalism" and making extensive use of them for propagandizing our social harmony. And now the ashes of our own burned-out houses are smoldering before our eyes. It is an illusion to hope that these conflicts can be settled with the help of a "magic formula." It is necessary to face the truth squarely. Machiavelli's recipe, according to which citizens' safety and personal property is protected by a "strong state" with a "strong hand," no longer applies. However, judging by appearances, we are not yet mature enough for Montesquieu's formula which views freedom as the right to do everything that the laws permit. This is why it seems to me that it is necessary to encourage in every way the development of social structures. Efforts to hamper the establishment of unsponsored independent organizations will inevitably push them toward extremism.

The current bitter lesson of the Transcaucasus conflict has shown us to what extent the country needs new, entirely legal democratic institutions which provide an outlet for political activeness, ethnic emotions, religious feelings, cultural aspirations, and, if you like, personal passions and ambitions. The legal existence of organizations of this kind, whether they call themselves "people's fronts" or "civic forums," and an honest dialogue with them provide, apart from all else, the opportunity to bring them under the supervision of parliaments and the public.

The brutality of the conflict in Armenia and Azerbaijan is due to a considerable degree to the fact that as a result of the actions of the forces hampering political perestroyka in the country a system for the implementation of the rule of law has not managed to form in the country over the past 4-5 years (a considerable period of time, you will agree) and a sufficiently ramified system of social organizations has not been established with the help of which it would be possible to extinguish or control conflicts which arise, as is done in the rule-of-law states of the West. The Transcaucasus tragedy has coincided with a point in time when the process of the disintegration of the old totalitarian system has reached its apogee, while the new democratic organs have not yet

acquired the necessary political experience and do not even exist in some parts of the country. The intervention on the part of the center was essentially inevitable since the local authorities, both soviet and party, proved totally bankrupt.

A certain positive experience of perestroyka has already been accumulated. Tolerance has stopped being a term of abuse. The "informals" are acquiring civilized legality. However, this applies only at the center. At local level, lack of glasnost, lack of rights, and administrative hectoring still frequently reign. The continued tyranny of the apparatus at local level is fraught with a serious danger for democracy. For instance, pressure on the press is one of the forms of bureaucratic extremism. Meanwhile the press is, among other things, an outlet for natural (frequently negative) emotions, it is an instrument used with great skill by Western politicians, and last but not least it is a means for a public and nationwide expert examination of the actions of the administration, scientists, and politicians. The reaction to the suppression of a free press is extremism—semiclandestine bulletins and leaflets, and Soviet citizens turning for "truth" to foreign publications and foreign radio "voices." Suppressed statements about grievances, unheard confessions, applicants sent away, lack of freedom of expression—these are the things that spill over into sectarianism, and when denied column space take to dark corners....

Origins

If you examine the roots of the phenomenon, political extremism virtually always results from the suppression of freedom of opinion and political pluralism. The shots fired by left-wing socialist revolutionaries, the Mensheviks' attempts to incite the workers of Moscow and Petrograd to a general strike in 1918, and the Bolsheviks' retaliatory terror against both were the result of their original rejection of equal dialogue.

Violence against the peasants (forcible requisitioning of grain) provoked retaliatory reaction in the form of powerful peasant uprisings. Now-accessible facts and documents illustrate that this was a real peasant war. The best military chiefs—Frunze, Tukhachevskiy, Uborevich, Budennyy, and Yakir—were recruited to suppress the peasants.

Workers starving in the cities were told that peasants who had hidden grain were to blame for the famine and Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and the "nonparty" intelligentsia were to blame for the strikes. The other side was also indoctrinated in the corresponding fashion of course. Thus the origins of the current attempts to set the working class against the intelligentsia and everyone else—cooperative workers and leaseholders—may be said to be buried deep in Soviet history.

Hatred was born in the catacombs of Russian poverty and absence of rights, it emerged from the trenches of World War I and the civil war. But even more dreadful is the fact that—later when there was civil peace in the country—it became official state policy. Intolerance of everything strange, everything that was a little better, a little more well-endowed, and a little more developed was perceived and presented as heroic. On this principle the plant worker was described as a "mechanized private entrepreneur"; the peasant with more sheep than his neighbor owing to hard work was described as a kulak; the poor rural priest who preserved the remnants of morality in the countryside was described as the "opium of the people"; and the professor who refused to tolerate uniformity of thinking was described as an "ideological follower of Vrangel" [counterrevolutionary leader in Southern Russia 1917], an accomplice of the Entente. As a result in the first years of Soviet authority a large group of highly prominent academics, including economists, agrarian specialists, and cooperative workers, not only left but were deported from Russia, where every man of culture was on the index.

Ideological extremism inflicted the kind of damage on the country that no war in our fatherland's entire history has ever inflicted. In our endeavor to make everything level we inverted the well known formula with which L.N. Tolstoy began the novel "Anna Karenina:" "All happy families are alike, every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way." How many Soviet families are now alike in their poverty and trouble?

What was the cost of the victory of "principle" over common sense?

Heeding History

The dulled sense of historical experience is particularly worrying in contemporary life. In speeches delivered by a number of our deputies you even discover that the passion for inflaming opposition is by no means extinct.

We also heard this passion in the stamping of feet when A. Sakharov went up to the platform, in the calls for economists to be sent to the countryside for agricultural work, in the ostentatious departure from the hall of whole "factions" of deputies, and in radicals' attempts to issue Gorbachev with ultimatums.

You can probably understand the disappointment felt by the supporters of radical acceleration that society has unfortunately proved less receptive to the reforms than they would have liked. In this connection it is useful to recall A. Gertsen's old argument that it is harder to combat the people's conservatism than the conservatism of crown and pulpit. I believe that this formula is to some extent not outmoded even now. But it is very hard to understand what motives are guiding some highly respected people when they propose such a dangerous weapon as—especially in the current situation—a strike as a lever for acceleration. The ill-conceived nature of these proposals can only provoke gleeful gratitude among extremely hardened conservatives.

Especially since the ideologists of stagnation themselves by no means always risk going to the people's rostrum. They prefer to put their ideas and slogans into the

mouths of "politically conscious workers" and "ordinary working women." The fact that of late the enemies of perestroyka have tried to win whole working class groups over to their side, under cover of demagogic slogans about defending "principles," has put us on our guard.

The speed with which some "working people's fronts" pump up their muscles and the logic of their actions cannot help but provoke serious concern. We know the consequences of fanning anger among the workers from the Shakhty trial of 1928. Then, arousing hatred of engineers and academics, the newspapers demanded that "workers, working people, and the whole world hold them in extreme loathing." But it seems that not everyone has learned history's lessons. Otherwise the deputy from Omsk would not have been indignant that "schools have stopped teaching history using primers and are teaching it from newspapers." Was it this deputy alone who was drawn to primers based on the "Short Course?" Or was conservative extremism here, too, beginning to speak loud and clear from the mouth of an "ordinary textile worker?

Our society is pathologically analyzings both the path already traveled and the phases of the path ahead. We are also pondering both the potential and the limits of democracy and sometimes give way to excessive illusions about freedom's gifts. Democracy is undoubtedly a strong guarantee against totalitarianism and violence, but not an absolute guarantee. You only have to turn to the experience of India, which is often described as the most powerful of the world's young democracies and where violence nevertheless flares up so often. Even France—a country with a 200-year tradition of democracy—is not immune to the virus of extremism and has to resort from time to time to the services of "special units" to defend the population from, say, Corsican separatists' bombs.

When assessing the limits of the democratic regulation of conflicts, it must be borne in mind that national strife is most often secondary, often only the external manifestation of economic and social trouble. Nevertheless democracy is the school where mandatory lessons in civic peace take place. It is becoming increasingly obvious in the course of perestroyka that it will take years to build a civilized state and meet the people's every need. Everything indicates that society and every one of us must be prepared for the path to the goals of perestroyka to be a long and arduous one. Disputes are needed as to the ways of speeding up the process and they are already under way. But one thing is indisputable: We will be unable to cover this road without losses, if we do not learn to listen to and understand one another.

In the wake of the civil war Maksimilian Voloshin wrote two cycles of poems "Internecine Strife" and "Deaf-mute Demons" in which he described the dreadful lessons to be learned from fratricidal war and its consequences. It is characteristic that these poems by M. Voloshin were read avidly both by the "Whites" and the "Reds" since both sides—having surmounted the bloody psychoses of the civil war—began to understand, albeit belatedly, the fatal nature of national strife. The lessons of the past must not be in vain. As we prepare for life in a law-governed state, we must learn tolerance and must shake off the dangerous "deaf-mute demon" complex.

Roundtable on 'Modern Vision of Socialism'

Part One

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[First of two-part V. Kerimov and Yu. Shabanov report on roundtable held 10 January in editorial offices of PRAVDA: "Modern Vision of Socialism"]

[Text] A roundtable took place on 10 January in the editorial offices, devoted to a consideration of present-day problems in socialist society. Those participating included Ye. Ambartsumov, candidate of historical sciences; I. Antonovich, doctor of philosophical sciences; E. Arab-ogly, doctor of philosophical sciences; L. Grekov, candidate of philosophical sciences; G. Diligenskiy, doctor of historical sciences; A. Dmitriyev, doctor of philosophical sciences; A. Zdravomyslov, doctor of philosophical sciences; A. Iskenderov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; L. Karpinskiy, political commentator; V. Kelle, doctor of philosophical sciences; O. Latsis, doctor of economic sciences; V. Lektorskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences; V. Mezhuyev, doctor of philosophical sciences; I. Pantin, doctor of philosophical sciences; and V. Stepin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The scholars discussed problems of the socialist ideal, real socialism, and paths for perestroyka in socialist society.

The discussion was led by PRAVDA ideological department chief V. Poshtayev. **V. Poshtayev:** Permit me to thank you all for responding to the request from PRAVDA to take part in this discussion on the very important subject of the new vision of socialism. The debate initiated in PRAVDA following publication of M.S. Gorbachev's article, "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka," showed how vital this problem is—trying to understand the purport of the past, present, and future of the society that we have built. It is of concern not only to scholars but to literally every person, all strata of society. The mail arriving in our ideological department testifies to that. Since the start of the debate it has been growing geometrically; so that our discussion today is a continuation of the search for solutions to the most urgent problems of socialism, both theoretical and practical. We really do need a new vision of the society that we have built and that we are about to build.

Democracy: Tactics or Strategy?

A. Iskenderov: First of all, the main question must be answered: What is this socialism that we have built and

how far does it meet true socialist ideals? Today there is virtually no disagreement among theoreticians: It is far removed from the classical understanding of it. Although it is known by different names, from barracks socialism to feudal-serfdom socialism, one essential thing is the same, namely, that the face of the society that we have built has turned out to be antihumane and anit-democratic....

But now it is time to look into causes—how have we arrived at this? Not superficially but in depth. There are many causes. However, I would like to dwell on one. It seems to me that the main thing is that socialism was established without democracy. Herein lies the deepest gap between theory and reality. That is, we have proclaimed the slogan that socialism and democracy are indivisible. Moreover, Lenin said that socialism is not and cannot occur without the accomplishment of true democracy. But, in fact, the development of our socialism occurred contrary to democracy. It seems to me that it had other roots. They lie in the conviction that socialism can be built through mass repressions, through force. And force can give rise only to what it did give rise to: the administrative-bureaucratic system. Trotskiy and Zinovyev and Bukharin linked the building of socialism with the theory of force. Not to mention Stalin—Stalin was really tops. Unfortunately, in practice even Lenin did not rule out force, and sometimes he gave it preference over democracy. Perhaps it was necessary, but he did yield.

Without this kind of understanding of our history, we shall not finally comprehend the deformations of socialism or our next steps. Speaking metaphorically, to devise a new theory and a new concept of socialism we must go beyond simply severely criticizing Stalin and Stalinism.... **O. Latsis:** In the main, I agree that from the start of Stalin's power and up to perestroyka, despite all the modifications, the version of socialism built on control through force was one that was not considered. I am not about to equate force with the repressions. Lenin spread repressive elements of force only for the period of armed struggle. And subsequent repressions did not at all stem from his ideas about force. On the contrary, they occurred despite him. **A. Iskenderov:** I incline to the view that we must probably state precisely what we should reject and what we see ahead. In particular, I think that up to now we have not told the whole truth about the dictatorship of the proletariat. It seems to me that it has not justified itself precisely because it was linked to force. As we revive socialism, we must return to its democratic foundations whose growth we have artificially slowed down. Democracy should become our strategic line.

Perhaps my words will seem too sharp to some. First, I do not claim to have the truth, I merely want to investigate it. Second, I am convinced that on the eve of the congress we should raise questions in a principled manner, very openly and very boldly. If we do not raise them, no one will have any faith in a new concept of socialism. True, the question does arise as to whether society is ready for this kind of candid debate.... **V. Poshtayev:** I favor bold criticism. We have still not peeled back all the layers, and not only in our past but also in postulating new problems. About what plan we shall have for building perestroyka, for building a new socialist society, there is probably ground for debate here also....

A. Arab-ogly: I would like to talk about whether our people are ready for openness. I consider the references to their "infantile" age a political game of the bureaucracy in power. The people are not so bewildered and ignorant as they sometimes seem. The people are ready. Of this, I am sure. And just two words about the roots of our society. The theoreticians argue about this: Should they be sought in the February revolution or the October Revolution? There were not two revolutions . There was one—the Great Russian Revolution—which developed in stages through to the end of the civil war. It is there that these roots should be sought.

Market Is Not Chaos

O. Latsis: If we are talking about the time of socialism, then three basic tasks may be set. First, of course, it is necessary to criticize the old vision and old practice. Second, it is necessary to have a new reading of the classics, first and foremost Lenin. And third, and most difficult, it is necessary to answer the questions that arose in Lenin's time—for at that time they appeared quite different from today.

And so, taking all three of these tasks into account, I would like to talk about our economy, particularly the relationship between socialism and the market.

Even today a considerable number of our ideologists and practical people regard the market as the bearer of chaos, which in and of itself is totally incorrect. The market is fully amenable to management and regulation. This has already been shown both theoretically and in practice. Moreover, without the market planned development is impossible, but the market itself cannot be effective without some planned foundation. If we recall that planning is not simply the process of paper moving from above to below but the real subordination of economic and social processes to the conscious will of society, "conscious proportionality" as Lenin defined it, then we conclude that an economic reality that rejects the markets, as we have done in this country, has never had anything in common with real planning. It has been largely bureaucratic anarchy rather than a a planned economy, and this is also true today.

It would be incorrect to equate socialism with the plan and capitalism with the market. Both are equally inherent in both systems.

The main feature of socialism, or, more accurately, its advantage, is that a person works for himself. A person works better for himself than for an exploiter. And of course, under such conditions a market is necessary, and different forms of ownership are necessary.

I do not understand why our scholars are starting to foam at the mouth about any word concerning private ownership. We favor socialism not out of some religious considerations but because it has been convincingly proven that large-scale public production is in general more efficient than any other. And if this is so, then we may boldly acknowledge the equality of all forms of ownership and give them the opportunity to compete freely, since here we are convinced that the leading place has been and remains large-scale public production. **V. Poshtayev:** And does the new draft legislation offer the opportunity for competition here as equals? **O. Latsis:** It seems to me that the new draft legislation does create such opportunities. But of course, actual practice is determined not only by the adoption of laws but also by their implementation.

And now I would like to move on to a question that Lenin barely touched upon. He passed through a remarkably quick evolution in his ideas about the socialist economy. Before 1921, that is, before NEP [New Economic Policy] he depicted socialism as a state monopoly subject to the interests of the working class and therefore no longer capitalist. Then, recognizing the about-face of the entire viewpoint toward socialism, literally with one foot in the grave he began to talk about a system of civilized cooperative owners. The essential thought in this is that a system of civilized cooperative owners and a state monopoly system are two quite different systems. But Lenin succeeded somehow in uttering these words in his last works on the cooperative system. He did not develop the system himself. And I think that we must return to the dispute that was still going on in the party up to the 14th Congress, and to what was left aside. At that time Bukharin asserted that Lenin had a second plan, connected with a system of civilized cooperative owners. Lenin had told Bukharin about it in his last conversations with him. In some of his works of the mid-twenties Bukharin set forth this plan of Lenin's and, of course, added something of his own to it. But Krupskaya was very critical of this claim and she said that there never had been any kind of second plan for NEP. And so the issue was then quietly dropped. Meanwhile, it is very important for us today because it would be naive to simply return to NEP. Nothing will come of it. The country was different, the social structure was different. In my opinion we must carefully trace Lenin's understanding of NEP and develop it and enrich it giving due consideration to the present realities.

Social Means Together

A. Zdravomyslov: In making evaluations of the past we must not exaggerate the role of theoretical thinking to the detriment of real interests. Historicism is essential. The socialist idea now lives in the form of perestroyka. But perestroyka itself, the idea of socialism, and the cardinal questions of socialism, such as, for example, social justice, are being interpreted in different ways among different population groups. In addition to historical method, what is also needed is the kind of sociopolitical analysis in which the idea itself is linked to the specific interests of the various social groups. Here it is essential first and foremost to raise the issue of the relationship between the economy and politics.

And then, of course, the problem arises of the human, class and national relationship. It is now simply impossible to talk about a new vision of socialism without having done some groundwork in the field. It seems to me in this context that M.S. Gorbachev's article is very important since it synthesizes much of what has been said in the debates organized by the Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and what is topical in public opinion. The article contains many new approaches even compared to two years ago. This is what must be considered.

I would like to say a few words about one issue that seems to me to be very important. It is now intuitively coming to the surface but has not become a subject for independent examination. We talk about socialism as an idea, as a formation, as a movement. But it seems to me that it is important to underline: socialism is a certain system of intercourse. The sense of this is found in the root of the word. Social means meet together. It is an idea, and life, and form of social organization that unites people rather than separates them or sets them in opposition to one another. And in my opinion, it is on this plane that the problem arises of shaping new institutions of intercourse and a new role for the press, which acts not simply as a critic or as an agitator but as a definite center for communication between people. It is, if you wish, a component of the practice of socialism.

The question should be one of changing the style of intercourse itself. You see, each idea must not become bogged down in a certain milieu but rather be developed in different respects and aspects and so forth. For example, to alter the style of work by a party leader or a leader in any other public organization. And here the problem of leadership arises, which is also inherently a problem of changing the forms of intercourse. For those who lack the ability for this intercourse see in their own actions only a command function, and they are divorced from social life per se. In my opinion, the development and diversity of forms of intercourse constitute a pivotal line in present-day socialism.

To Abandon Force in History

V. Kelle: How to avoid becoming addicted to the next extreme act and move again onto an "unbeaten track" and set up social experiments, many of which, alas!, have ended badly. I think that we must recognize what is the main historical experience, namely, that we must abandon the use of force in history. In this sense we have been striving to bring history into line (as we understand it) with the ideal of socialism. That is, schematically, without giving consideration to objective laws.

I think that it is not just a question of socialism developing without democracy. The main cause of the crisis is that the command system failed and did not justify itself, and created fictitious economic phenomena. Perestroyka

was initiated because we had come to an economic dead end. And it is now more important for us to return to a natural historical process. And this means that we must create economic and political mechanisms that would force people to act in a particular way.

We say that socialism has great potential. But what is that potential? What meaning do we attach to this? I suggest that socialism's potential lies primarily in expanding the sphere of initiative. It is only by creating a mechanism to develop people's initiative and activeness in the interests of society that it is possible to talk about the renewal of socialism. It is important that people themselves be involved in solving the problems facing the country.

I think that a return to natural historical development and making use of the potential of socialism and of world experience and common civilized principles constitute the road that perestroyka must travel. **A. Iskenderov:** To the point, on experience. The assertion is now being made that the October Revolution was more useful to world capitalism than it was to socialism. The former started to develop more rapidly on the social, human plane. **V. Kelle:** Yes, in a certain sense it was of use to capitalism and it forced it to change much in its structure. There it is. If we succeed in our attempt to renew socialism and extricate ourselves from this crisis then it will be possible to say that when it criticized itself the proletarian socialist revolution learned from its negative experience and moved ahead. And then we shall derive greater benefit for ourselves as we learn from our difficult and tragic experience.

From Utopia to Reality

Ye. Ambartsumov: First, I would like to say that we are unintentionally limiting ourselves by thinking exclusively about our traditional frameworks—Marx, Lenin, Marxist socialism, the proletarian socialist revolution. But the idea of socialism does not amount just to that set, which I think has largely exhausted itself.

We should first and foremost be thinking about a new vision of socialism and looking at what was conceptually erroneous about the earlier vision. And of course, in this connection, we must mention the utopianism in the very concept of Communism itself. It cannot be said that Marx did not contain any utopianism, and he did draw a great deal from his predecessors—the utopians. Communism is an idea, not a doctrine or a desire to build some kind of ideal society. And the sooner admit that it is in some respects an unrealistic doctrine the better.

Take, for example, the idea of the Paris Commune as a prototype for a future socialist society. What was acceptable or realistic for a certain short period of time on the scale of a single city is unrealistic for a state, particularly an enormous state with its unbelievably complex links, where direct self-management is impossible. Or the underestimation of the problem of freedom, which pushed the idea of equality onto the back burner. And what about ethical relativism? Which then became moral nihilism.

It is important to perceive socialism as a process, a movement, and here we must turn to other ideological sources of socialism. We should also remember ethical socialism and Bernstein.

Look at this, our discussion today: For in Western society it is impossible for people to debate the parameters that a capitalist society should have, or what capitalism is. They do not do this, but we are constantly stating theory and complaining that we have no good theory. Remember Lenin, for whom one step of practical movement was more important than a dozen programs.

Despite its undisputed enormous results, perestroyka is skidding. We have become another society, but unfortunately in many things we are sliding. We must look at the world around us. First, at the countries that are traditionally called socialist—the ideas of socialism in these countries that border with us have themselves been discredited. We now find ourselves in a situation in which the ideas of socialism are in decline, in which a best case scenario would be that the parties that come out on top are those that are oriented on a doctrine of social democracy, while the conservative parties are in the worst position. And communists will find themselves playing the role of junior partners in coalition governments, or even in the opposition.

Incidentally, under present conditions we have no other structure, other than the party structure, that would sustain stability in society. But we cannot deny that this would be naive, that tomorrow we can expect a multiparty system. And in this sense, I think, we must take a sober look not only at Marx, but also Lenin. We should also assume a critical stance with respect to Gorbachev's very fine article because many matters were not dealt with there, such as pluralism and the meaning of democracy. Nevertheless, we do have a limited understanding of democracy, and it comes from Lenin, because he recognized pluralism in economics, but not in politics.

It is necessary to move away from our idealism and sense of mission and, of course, from a totalitarian society, and we must be a really pluralistic society in economics, and in politics, and in ideology. What Kelle said is important: We must return, so to speak, to the common civilized path of development and take cognizance of the fact that the contracted path on which we have tried to create a society is a dead end.

And there is no need to build crystal palaces that then become castles in the air; we must simply develop normally, correct our own perceptions, and imbibe all the riches of world civilization. **A. Zdravomyslov:** The questions that arise are not simple: what does normal development mean, and what is a return to the natural historical process? Does this mean that the revolution was an anomaly?

Synthesis of Labor and Ownership

V. Mezhuyev: I would like to clearly distinguish two issues. The first is the question of how at the end of the 20th Century to relate to the idea of socialism in its Marxist or non-Marxist version. This is a purely theoretical question. And the second question is what we should do today with our country and what economic, legal, and other reforms are necessary to extricate ourselves from the swamp in which we have become mired.

There is much dispute today about what Stalinism was. It is reduced to violence. The essential nature of Stalinism was deeper: It lay in equating ideas and reality, in the idea of real socialism, as we used to say just recently, that had been built and had triumphed. As a result, we have raped reality and discredited an idea.

I think that most of all communists have compromised the idea of socialism. We have defined socialism in the most beautiful of epithets: It is humanism, social justice, the highest labor productivity, and so forth. All this is just words. The idea of socialism is a certain solution to the question of the relationship between labor and ownership. Socialism as an idea, as in general some kind of program arrangement, as some kind of goal only makes sense when the question of how we should combine these divergent aspects is raised.

If this kind of situation had not existed and did not exist in the country it would be apropos to talk about socialism, but we are solving another problem. For example, today we are trying to separate ownership from power, and we are trying to initiate something with respect to the appropriation of property by the state that has occurred here. But this is not a socialist problem, it has been solved by capitalism, and it was a classic idea of bourgeois political economy: How to separate ownership from the state.

We fail utterly to understand the idea of public ownership—the cornerstone of socialism. By public ownership we understand something like the following: Take and accumulate all property in one heap and combine it; it is common property, down to the last wooden plow or mattock. This bears no relationship at all to socialism.

The main idea in collectivization is not the altered subject of ownership (at first there was one owner, but now we own everything in common), but the change in the object of ownership. Not everything can be collectivized. For example, money cannot be collectivized. That is stupidity. Wherever there is money the principle of collectivization cannot apply—money is divisible. If I spend R100 on myself then, forgive me, someone else cannot spend it on himself. **V. Stepin:** And can a toothbrush be used as common property? **V. Mezhuyev:** They tried, but only those things that can belong to everyone and to each person can be collectivized. And can you imagine a thing that belongs to each of us and does not diminish because of it? Yes, it is possible. There is knowledge, culture, art.

But if I collectivize what is created by specific, that is divided, specialized, professional labor, this has nothing to do with socialism.... **L. Karpinskiy:** And it becomes booty for another social group. **V. Mezhuyev:** Exactly so. If we talk only about the idea, then the idea of socialism relates to that level of development in production at which science really becomes the main productive force, where the process takes place in which all of society becomes a source of enrichment, when the scientist replaces the workers.

But what have we done? We have taken the idea of socialism and tried to apply it to a level of production that does not reach even the capitalist level. So what next?

Socialism is not an idea for a free economy. Socialism is an idea for freeing the individual from the economy. But what kind of freedom? It is not when I am deprived of the means of existence but when the economy can support me without me being directly involved in live labor. And therefore the main thing in this idea was that the basis of society should change. The idea was to make the basis of society not the time when I work as manpower, that is, not work time, but to make the basis of society that time when I develop myself as an intellectual, thinking being, that is, to make the basis of society free time. There is nothing utopian in this idea, one that in the 20th Century has become a realistic program for all developed countries. **L. Karpinskiy:** Vadim Mikhaylovich, this means that you separate the idea of socialism from the idea of communism. **V. Mezhuyev:** No. Marx himself did that. To be absolutely accurate, for Marx the word "socialism" was an object of criticism. He included in socialism all the theories that suggest that it is possible to resolve social problems such as, for example, labor and capital, within the framework of a bourgeois society.

Let Classics Rest

I. Antonovich: One of the most dramatic phases of world history is now under way—the old socialism is dying throughout the world and we now know that the new socialism that is coming to replace it will be quite different from the old one. The predictions for the transition to a parliamentary structure is very unfavorable in a number of countries—six to eight percent of the population will vote for the communists. This is in a best case scenario. This is the drama of contemporary world history that we must consider.

It would seem that by rejecting the administrative-command system the process of history rejects socialism in its entirety because it has never known any other form but the administrative-command form throughout its history. This means that we are returning to sources and Kelle's phrase about natural historical conditions for the development of socialism rings very true.

But let us analyze the actual nature of the administrative-command system. We were right to call it a continuation of Stalinism, but let us tell the whole truth. The administrative-command system grew not only out of

Stalin's voluntarism but also out of objective historical conditions. The socialist revolution in Russia did not make the maximum use of an historical milieu ripe for a new society, but the minimum possible. Only the minimum condition for socialist revolution was obvious, activated by the genius of Lenin, but it was nevertheless to some degree a revolution in conditions not ripe for it.

It would be imprudent, at least, to draw up theoretical postulates on the basis of the classical model. Let the classics rest, because they did not foresee many fateful facts of contemporary history, for which they were not to blame.

But must we wear sackcloth and ashes, as we are now doing, and reproach the Bolsheviks for the fact that they seized power in 1917, and then that other communist parties seized it after World War II? We should not and we must not. The fate and the task of each party that seized power was to seize power. The trouble is that having seized power the parties were unable to realize the models of socialist transformations promised by the founders of socialism. If we must be ashamed of something then let it be the dominance of those who were mediocre who usurped power for their own personal ends. To what ends? Embezzlement, extortion, drunkenness, and so forth. There is the drama of the party. And so the drama of socialism is the drama of the party—a drama of the party's degeneration into an institution serving just one person.

V. Poshtayev: Ivan Ivanovich, so what should the party do today? **I. Antonovich:** Let me try to answer. Socialism has been subjected to sharp criticism now throughout the world, including in our country. But the stability of the social structures that have been created is much stronger than those who reckon on taking power from the communists, on ridding themselves of socialism, so to speak, thought. We must not rule out variants for the development of socialism without communists or with their minimum participation.

But let us speak the truth. Throughout the 20th Century the masses have always wanted socialism, for socialism is the natural condition of the working man. It is therefore necessary to study the spontaneous socialist ideal of the masses and radically clarify our theory on this basis. Let us, finally, respect the claims and wishes and needs and requirements, and the orientation and spiritual level of the masses, and go with them. There is a sufficiently strong socialist element, and it must somehow be formulated and realized.

Part Two

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[Second of two-part V. Kerimov and Yu. Shabanov report: "Modern Vision of Socialism"]

[Text]

Humanism Is Our Goal

G. Diligenskiy. Apparently, it is utterly impossible to place the notions "socialism" and "communism" along the same continuum of meaning with the notions "capitalism," "feudalism," and so on. Capitalism and feudalism are societies which actually existed and were later analyzed by theoreticians. Everything happened the other way around with socialism: First, the idea was born which is so much discussed at present, and after the October Revolution reality began to be adapted to it.

There is an illusion which many people shared in the 19th century, including Marx and Engels incidentally, but to a lesser degree—the illusion that some plan, or draft, of a society can be designed and later something can be built in keeping with this design, as an architect builds a house. When they tried to carry out such plans something quite far removed from what was conceived came out because, unlike a regular construction process, live people and relations between them do not amount to bricks and stones. In a society, the laws of economics, laws of human behavior, and interests of various forces are at work.

As a result, a certain social formation developed in our country, and we are now arguing whether this is socialism or not. Is the question itself proper? Socialism is an idea. This is a dream which needs to be considered not only within the framework of Marxism. This is the eternal dream of humanity to create an alternative society in which interests would be reconciled so that people would not be enemies to one another. A certain new historical formation emerges when this dream, of course, a utopian dream, begins to drive the policy of a large state. The most precise definition of it would be the state mode of production. In this formation, the state subordinates everything, the economy and public life, to the interests of the state as an institution. This is hardly in keeping with the ideas of socialism.

Socialism is primarily a system of values the content of which is humanistic. In the process, the society and the people keep changing; this means that at any specific stage of history in both our country and the West—anywhere—specific problems of humanization, the issues of invigorating, improving, and ennobling life, of greater freedom, and so on exist. These issues are always very specific, and it is important to make sure that they are the foremost priority. Everything else is just the means which should be effective. It makes no difference for me whether it is public property, private property, or something else. It is important for all of this to serve the interests of an individual optimally.

Finally, the issue of parties. The parties as a form of political life in the West are experiencing a severe crisis. They exist, they operate, but they get increasingly alienated from effective mass support. The standard message of sociological surveys is: I do not like parties because the parties do not get involved in real issues. At present, the following issue is discussed very seriously in Western

sociology: Is this not the time to switch altogether from parties to social movements which do not vie for power but pursue the interests of most varied groups in the course of their activities?

L. Karpinskiy. Movements are fine, but in our country they are in a hurry to become parties.

G. Diligenskiy. There are people's fronts which are in no hurry to become parties. People's Deputy S. Stankevich said on one occasion what I think to be a very correct thing—that the movement in which he participates, the Moscow People's Front, is a populist movement. He is an American studies expert by profession, and he knows what populism is really about. In our country, the word "populism" has acquired a pejorative meaning—something akin to demagoguery. Populism is, of course, no demagoguery. Populism, if we look at the American experience, is a union, an association of most diverse social forces with various political and religious convictions which expresses the sum total of very broad social interests and is directed against one common enemy. It is a typical movement in the sense to which I have referred.

A System for the Individual

V. Lektorskiy. To begin with, I would like to make a number of preliminary remarks. First, the idea of socialism and communism was never an end unto itself for Marx, this was a means to solve another significant problem—the problem of the individual, the problem of overcoming alienation, that is, a humanistic problem. How is alienation to be removed? Why is capitalism bad? Because man is alienated under capitalism whereas socialism makes it possible to remove this alienation. This is the only possible way to view these things—as a means. Socialism should be evaluated by how closely it corresponds to this goal; if it does not correspond to it it means that it is bad. To my mind, all talk about public and private property should proceed in this very context.

Second, I would like to say that there is a premise in our interpretation of Marxism which has its origins in the ideas which became widespread in the post-October years rather than in Marx. This is the concept of socialism as some kind of a system of total management, total design. These ideas were developed by the most diverse people in the party for many years; this means that there was a certain common frame of mind. For example, I will name the well-known theoretician and philosopher Bogdanov. He was criticized in our country because, you see, he wrote "Tectology," that is, the overall science of management. Now we have recognized him openly. There are many interesting ideas there, but what is Bogdanov's super-idea? To create such a mechanism on the scale of a republic in which everything is ideally organized. Both the human being and nature are perceived merely as the subjects of management. However, this runs counter to the main aspiration of Marxism and the modern interpretation of problems of ecology and humanism. We still have not overcome this prejudice.

Finally, the most important point. We are now discussing the issues of socialism in our press and during literary debates, and in the course of this socialism is equated with economic efficiency. In our country, even the issue of democracy is reduced to the latter helping our society become more economically efficient. I cannot agree with this; democracy is a value in its own right because it is a condition for the freedom of man.

The issue of personal freedom, the freedom of man is the greatest value. The criterion of progress should not be reduced to economic efficiency. A broader, more comprehensive criterion is needed, perhaps, that of social justice. For now, many people still interpret it as leveling in general, but it is not so. This is a major social problem which we cannot avoid. We can create a more economically efficient society which has not solved the problem of social justice, but such a society cannot be considered progressive.

Here is a similar problem—that of a law-governed state. The latter is not just a state in which all laws are observed. The nature of these laws is the whole point. The laws may be such that they are complied with but do not make the individual free. One can imagine a despotic regime where all laws are observed but man is humiliated. This is not a law-governed state. Also, a law-governed state presupposes the advanced political culture of a person. This may be the most difficult point.

Aspects of Socialization

V. Stepin. I am convinced that socialism, especially at higher stages of development, cannot be understood as having been implemented in an isolated country; this is a worldwide process. According to Marx also this is a worldwide process. At present, it is very important not just to criticize the past but also to resolve the issue of what to do and where to go. At present, the outline of a new stage of development of civilization is already visible, with the unprecedented possibilities of information technologies, new ways of communication, increasing variety and dynamics of social life. Perestroyka amounts to embarking on a road which allows us to enter this civilization by humanizing our society while preserving the fundamental basis of the socialist way of life. In keeping with the concept of new thinking, we see not only two socio-political camps but also the entire world, and we should look at the development of socialism from the standpoint of this world. In that case, socialism is a society which should be as wide open as possible to the achievements of civilization, open not only to advanced technologies but also to increasing the standard of daily life, accumulating democratic methods and forms of regulating public life, developing the creative potential of a person, and so on.

These processes of civilization develop in various subsystems of the entire contemporary world. We should

not forget that at one point capitalism was able to overcome the profound crisis of the 1930's by implementing such accomplishments of civilization which in principle may be termed socialism and which are associated with using a number of measures regulating, on the one hand, spontaneous market contacts (tax policy, etc.) but on the other hand, increasing the level of legal protection for the individual.

Incidentally, we should not be afraid of the word "convergence" if it denotes the interaction of capitalism and socialism and their joint development with the accumulation of elements of socialism rather than the unification of different societies and absorption of socialism by capitalism. The idea of a peaceful evolution of the two systems toward some unified global condition which may be called universal socialism definitely has a right to exist.

Of course, the nature of this process is contradictory: Societies in which technology advances encounter the issues of limited natural resources, ecological difficulties, and alienation of social structures from man.

A trend toward weakening centralization and increasing the variety of different subsystems of public life appears to be the main line of world development. Incidentally, a certain success of neoconservatism in the West was due to exactly the fact that it grasped this trend to a degree. In the sphere of production, it is associated with the use of computer technologies which open up opportunities for using individualized creative labor. In the sphere of social relations, the increasing variety of life and the sharing of various cultural traditions raise the issue of socialization of man in a new manner. The ideal of neoconservatism consists of recreating such regional structures of socialization within which religious traditions and forms of family upbringing would interact and a measure of social control over the development of the younger generation would be maintained so that morality would not decay.

I believe that this idea is very important for the development of any technology driven civilization at the current stage regardless of its political system.

In the immediate future, we will have to decide not only how to increase the standard of consumption to the American level but also how to socialize human beings, what the mechanisms of this process has to be, how the traditions of national cultures are to be preserved, how the family as the primary cell of social life is to be saved from destruction, and how to ensure the dignified entry of each new generation to life.

One Millionaire or Million of Paupers?

E. Arab-Ogly. The following question was asked here: Who benefited the most from the October Revolution—socialism or capitalism? I believe this is how we can put it: Russia saved the world for the second time—for the first time, from the Tatar onslaught, and for the second time from... socialism, I mean the kind which we have built, which has nothing in common with the real one. This is why I think that it is premature to bury socialism, no matter what kind of crisis we are experiencing. The point is that this is a crisis of the command-administrative system which we have elevated to the rank of socialism. So, what did we end up with?

Dialectics, the law of the negation of negation will help us answer this. Let us take, say, capitalism. It also appeared as a negation of the past, including the negation of traditional cultures. Isn't this a particular thesis? Socialism appears as its antithesis. This means that we did not build socialism but merely created an antithesis of capitalism, namely anticapitalism. As a result, we perceived socialism itself as the reverse of capitalism. We do not need goods-and-money relations because they exist under capitalism. Over there, the market dictates, and in our country it should not. Over there, they have anarchy in production, we have comprehensive planning. Over there, they have private property, we do away with it, and so on. However, there has got to be a synthesis following that. This, however, is what has not happened to date.

Now we are coming to understand that anticapitalism cannot be a healthy and stable society because any society should be built not only on negation but also on affirmation. This affirmation is associated with a second negation—a synthesis, that is, absorbing the best accomplishments of the previous civilization.

What is socialism, then? In abstract terms, it is the emancipation of labor, comprehensive development of personality, a harmonious relationship between society and nature, and confidence of the people in their future. Much of the above represents, so to say, the ideals of a remote communist future. At the same time, these are living ideals which civilization should be enriched with. Speaking more specifically about socialist values, we should refer to the eight-hour workday, progressive taxation, mandatory education, equality of women, social security, confidence of the people in the future, and so on. We have already asserted many of these in our society. However, capitalism has also adopted many of these points. Therefore, the values of socialism may be called general democratic values, requirements, if you will. Let us look at it in more depth, and then we will definitely come to the conclusion that general democratic ideals are the socialist ideals, and in order for the socialist ideals to acquire full value they should also be general democratic ideals at the same time. Therefore, as I see it, at present we need a synthesis of general democratic socialist values, that is, socialism with a human face.

However, what are we to do now so as to arrive at the thesis proceeding from our antithesis, where should we come from? Should we return to the NEP [New Economic Policy]? We should not go back to it, but rather proceed from it. If we are approaching this movement of civilization we should first of all develop goods-and-money relations, give an impetus to the market, to a

variety of ownership forms, and we should give up the ideologization of the economy.

A new vision of socialism will not come about for as long as social consciousness fails to understand this, for as long as people continue to be outraged by the appearance of one millionaire-cooperative member while looking undisturbed at millions of paupers.

Socialism Nonetheless

L. Grekov. As I see it, the present-day Soviet society is a socialist society nonetheless, and socialist rather than anything else. I will not enumerate which requirements of a socialist nature it meets. Enough has been said about this at the "roundtable." However, let us agree that socialism is not a paradise society flowing with milk and honey, that it has its own drawbacks and ills. Also, many of its ills, apart from those which have been inherited from capitalism ("birthmarks"), are its own, acquired ills. In some aspects, our real socialist society is substantially different from what Marx predicted, approximately as different as the present-day Christian movement is from early Christianity. This means that such things are possible in history; after all, nobody refers to "the great failure" of this world religion. A socialist society develops through contradictions, including antagonistic contradictions.

Apart from everything else, the recognition of our society as a socialist one provides a perspective; it may serve as a point of departure for renewing the socialist idea, for a discussion on the new vision of socialism. A different position would amount to what the chess players refer to as the zugzwang, that is, a discussion on a new vision from a different position which is nonsensical from the very beginning and leads into a dead end.

How this new vision is to be designed is another important question. What conceptual material will it develop from? It is necessary to sharply expand the framework of our theoretical work, to enhance the source base of the socialist idea, and transcend the boundaries of the field of Marxist theory which have emerged over many years. After all, Marx and Engels had their environment, like-minded people who were prominent theoreticians of socialism. The same may be said about Lenin and his comrades-in-arms.

It is difficult for a publisher to refrain from advertising, all the more so if a good pretext is available. The concept of enriching the Marxist socialist idea by expanding its information base is being implemented in practice through publishing the series of books, "The Library of Socialist Thought," which the Publishing House of Political Literature will undertake in 1990. This year, works by Rosa Luxemburg and A. Bogdanov should be published, and in the future, works by W. Brandt and G. Lukacs, and so on.

For many years, we feared writing in our books about other theoreticians of communism apart from the classical trio. On many occasions, we, the editors, suggested that the authors write in a book or a textbook at least something about how others interpreted and viewed socialism (for example, the non-socialists Tagor, Nehru, Russell, Zombart, and others). However, this initiative was not appreciated and supported. This is how classical scientific socialism fenced itself off from other socialist teachings with "the wall of China." This self-imposed isolation impoverished the theory, promoted its sketchiness and its transformation into a system of dogmas and unassailable truths, and ultimately brought about the fact that they stopped understanding and perceiving it.

Going to Petersburg Through Ryazan

I. Pantin. In our time, the time of perestroyka, socialism is frequently associated with the elimination of Stalin's heritage, and nothing else. Having more socialism means having more of what—more democracy, which, as has been historically proven, did not come about as an accomplishment of socialism? More of a law-governed state? It has also been mentioned here that a law-governed state emerged before socialism. That is to say, it turns out that for us socialist construction is associated only with overcoming distortions in our social development. This is too little, this is not enough, because, as Marx said in his time, if I negate the Chinese braid I will not be getting very far from the subject of my negation. This is what we are doing: In the time of perestroyka, we negate the evil deeds of Stalin and Stalinism. However, so far we have unfortunately turned out to be unable to get away from the subject of negation. We are getting away with difficulty, with much difficulty. I think that in this sense the new vision of socialism is found primarily by answering this question: What comes next after criticism, after correcting distortions? After all, we must look at our problems from the point of view of the future rather than the past, that is, we should look at how the contemporary world solves these problems, and how we can solve them having been enriched by their experience.

At any rate, we should learn a lesson from what is going on in the West. Chernyshevskiy said (I am rendering the thrust of it): If you are traveling from Moscow to Petersburg why are you traveling through Ryazan? By and large, we travel to Petersburg through Ryazan, carried away by criticizing the past, at a time when we need a shortcut. After all, some solutions, some problems have already been solved in the West. We should only find out how they have been solved.

For example, the main avenue for increasing efficiency is still associated with enhancing the might of tangible factors of production, that is, with the interests of departments, whereas the experience of the world shows that scientific-technical progress is the shortest way to social wealth. We missed this, so let us catch up. For now, we have been catching up mostly in a manner of speaking while actually enhancing the means of production and jacking up gross output. While developing industry we also developed the working class, but how? First of all, in a political and social sense, but not as a subject of labor. We did not develop the morality of

labor in the working class and an owner's attitude toward property. Now we are paying for this. How are we to develop it? We should perfect labor incentives and individualize the motivation for actions.

Should We Pay According to Labor?

L. Karpinskiy. I think that at present we should talk about building socialism anew rather than renewing socialism. I would not talk about a second wind of socialism either because the first one was dubious if we look at our reality. Recently, I asked one very highly placed ideological functionary this question during a conversation: Tell me, once we have cleansed the notion of socialism of all Stalinist admixtures, will there be anything attractive left at all, apart from what has been developed by other countries? He told me: But of course. There is a reason why many generations of Soviet people have built socialism with such enthusiasm and continue to dream about it. Indeed, the dream is alive. For example, my wife tells me: Why are you crying all the time that socialism and communism are perishing, that crises and bankruptcies lie ahead? I get up every day dreaming about communism. I see it in terms of very clear notions—my grandson will not be finicky, everyone will come to the table on time, there will be no discord....

I believe that this is a curious angle. Indeed, we should return to the very initial level of interpreting communism, to the simplest notions, to the people's life and real interests, as has been said here. This is practical humanism, comprehensive development of man, overcoming the contradiction of the development of an individual and the development of the genus, as Marx dreamed. It is somehow easier to jump into world civilization from this most general level of communism and look there for the elements which generally take us to communism. Therefore, at present the highest theoretical level of generalizing the new appearance of socialism is altogether necessary for us.

However, specifics are also important. The unification of labor and property is a notion which is very important for us. It should be acknowledged that we lived in the environment where the toiler was separated from property. It is our mental stereotype: An owner means a crook and a speculator. However, all of our history has shown that it is exactly the other way around. A man is a hard worker because he is an owner, and an owner because he is a hard worker.

Let us reflect. There is private property—private-capitalist, exploitative, parasitic. However, there is private property derived from the word "part" if nothing else, that is, the property one may consider his own. However, it is absolutely elementary when a segment of employees owns and manages a part of some installation, means of production and production output, and appropriates them. From this point of view, any property is private property. Therefore, the main problem is to return to this genuine content of property which should be united with labor in all of its multifaceted forms. Gavriil Popov put it well on one occasion. He said that we are afraid of private property just as primitive thinkers were afraid of the word "crocodile" because, if it were pronounced a crocodile would appear and begin to swallow you.

As has been correctly mentioned here, the conservative forces exploit this scarecrow of a private-property crocodile.

Now about public property. They joke caustically that it belongs to no one. No, that is not so. It is nobody's with regard to, say, those assembled here, but it still belongs to someone. Such alienated property goes to a certain management apparatus, for example, a department, a bureaucracy. To be sure, it does not become their complete but rather functional property. This is why such property rusts, perishes, and brings about our ruin.

Having accepted this as a fact, we should also revise our approach to the notion of socialization which is the basis of the concept of socialism. Socialization was interpreted as separating property initially from an individual, and subsequently from a group of people, and elevating it to the highest and most remote social level. I believe that the genuine socialization of property amounts to bringing about the ownership of it by everyone.

In this reference, the following thesis emerges which is apparently paradoxical: We should stop paying "according to the input of labor." After all, labor is a process of joint activities. This process has no value, it cannot be weighed. Therefore, with much torment, we proceed to introduce certain parameters of this process, all kinds of conventional and abstract norms. Meanwhile, the remuneration in all cases should depend on the usefulness of the product generated, on the consumer. When we pay "according to labor" we actually pay in keeping with bureaucratic arbitrariness.

In the course of this, some people are overpaid and others most frequently are grossly underpaid. Meanwhile, the very sense of remuneration is in establishing my contribution as a producer to creating a user value, a benefit for the consumer, establishing my contribution and somehow evaluating it accordingly. Even if we pay according to labor, we should not pay according to costs, as we do now, but rather according to the labor embodied in the product sold.

V. Mezhuyev. Our entire problem is to reproduce the mentality of a man who lives by private property based on his own labor. This is what is absent in Russia, this is why socialism turned into a totalitarian system. Freedom was taken away from the people, and they got used to it. Therefore, a taste for freedom is needed first of all.

A. Zdravomyslov. I would like to stress once again the thought about the need to reconcile external, general processes of civilization and our internal contradictions and problems in analyzing the course of perestroyka. We

may only respond to the question about the kind of society we live in on the basis of our understanding of the contemporary world and its complex interrelationships. We are a part of this world, a part with its own destiny, as any other country. This destiny is inseparably tied to the socialist idea and the socialist option. However, this idea, this ideal should not obstruct the view of reality.

V. Poshatayev. Wrapping up this "roundtable" conversation on the new vision of socialism we do not wrap it up altogether. On the contrary, the opinions voiced here will give an impetus to new thinking. We expect letters from our readers and reflections on this highly topical and significant subject.

EDITORIAL NOTE. A "roundtable" means a discussion, different views which are at times diametrically opposite. We suffered greatly because we believed that the truth is "in our hand," that it is available in a ready-made form. We are now paying for this. However, at the same time we work, learn, and debate. We are going to advance in renewing the concept of socialism and its actual implementation. In this regard, the article by M.S. Gorbachev, "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka," provides a great impetus for creative work. A draft political platform of the CPSU, which is going to be discussed at the forthcoming January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, will lead us to a new stage of interpreting the issues of the concept of socialism. The newspaper PRAVDA will carry on the discussion of these issues consistently because the debate, all the dissimilarity of views stated at times notwithstanding, makes it possible for us to advance in understanding the essence of humane, democratic socialism.

People's Deputies View Professional Army

LD2701050190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Presenter Lyubimov] The feature you are going to see now was to have been shown in our program last week. Although it happens very seldom, we ourselves removed it because it is about the Army. We thought that at the moment of tragic events in the Transcaucasus, when our soldiers and officers are carrying out a peacemaking mission there and the lives of thousands of people and the country's prestige and dignity depend on them, it would have been somewhat inappropriate. A delegation of mothers and wives which came to our editorial office, telephone calls, telegrams and letters showed, however, that this feature would be useful. You are going to see it now. [Footage showing luxurious dachas belonging to high military ranks] [passage omitted]

[In the studio, correspondent Artem Borovik speaks to a group of officers and USSR people's deputies]

[Borovik] It is well-known that you drafted a document which became official at the Second Congress of People's Deputies on how to make the Army more efficient. What are the main provisions of this document?

[V. Lopatin, USSR people's deputy] The main thought of this draft is a phased transition to the formation of a cadre-based regular professional army on a voluntary basis. This is the goal but as the first phase, a mixed system is suggested where there will be an army cut down in size and the reserves will be prepared according to the territorial principle. At the Second Congress of People's Deputies the military question was discussed considerably more often than at the first congress, and from various points of view, not only the way leaders of the Ministry of Defense would have liked to see it but the way things are in real life. Being forced to agree to some new ideas and forms, leaders of the Ministry of Defense and most of the generals are trying to squeeze the old essence in these new forms and to leave everything as it is now.

[Borovik] Have you tried to find out the overall number of generals in our Soviet Army? Because, according to some Western sources—unfortunately we do not have Soviet ones; everything has been classified—there are as many generals in Moscow as in the entire U.S. Army.

[Lopatin] Yes, there are more precise figures.

[A. Tsalko, USSR people's deputy] I have tried to find out. There are more than 2,000 according to my data.

[Borovik] What military rank can be called a watershed? You, for example [pointing at Tsalko], are a colonel, and you [pointing at V. Zolotukhin, USSR people's deputy] are a major.

[Tsalko] At our level, there is no watershed. So it means it is at a somewhat higher level.

[V. Zolotukhin] I would not start drawing clear-cut lines. It is not the rank that matters but specific people and their attitudes.

[Tsalko] I wanted to say precisely that the watershed is based not so much on rank as on age. There are many members of the Armed Forces leadership who are far beyond their retirement age and so far they hold the levers of power.

[Borovik] Army General Moiseyev said that the idea of a professional army maybe is not a bad idea, but it is impossible because it is very expensive.

[Lopatin] The main counterargument against a professional army is that such an army is 5-8 times more expensive than the one we have now. This expert estimation [showing a piece of paper] was carried out by a group of personnel of the General Staff together with representatives of the Main Political Directorate. This estimation is largely the same. [reads from the document]

Estimates show—I stress the words: Estimates show—that, taking into account occasional expenses on cultural and social purposes, the overall expenses on keeping such armed forces would be about five times highe

compared with armed forces of the same strength manned on the basis of the existing system.

I went to the General Staff on 27 December where, for several hours, a conversation with representatives of this group of specialists was held. What are the estimations? What does this word mean? I was told that, first, they had taken a standard army of 3 million men, both as the basis for the one currently in force and for a professional one....

[Borovik interrupting] A professional army cannot be 3 million-strong.

[Lopatin]...and they had compared these two standard armies, something which is unnatural in itself because we are comparing a smaller professional army and the one currently in existence. Where are the estimations? As it became clear later on, there were no calculations for the existing real army. This was the first but. Therefore, the expenses that are going to be cut in connection with army reductions and that could be used for a professional army were not taken into account here.

The next but. I asked them how they were calculating the savings from releasing each pair of hands. You envisage a reduction of 1 million. According to specialists' calculations, each pair of hands transferred to the national economy will give R8,500 of increased national income on the average in the country annually, which means R8.5 billion. Do you take this into account? No!

[Tsalko] There is an illusion today that the Army means the generals, that they do what they want. I have an impression that the generals have alienated themselves to such a degree that the Army will not follow them. The processes of democratization are advancing irrespective of those comrades. Therefore, the Army will, undoubtedly, support the processes of democratization.

Kolbin Discusses Control Committee Investigations

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[Interview with G.V. Kolbin, chairman of USSR People's Control Committee, by PRAVDA correspondents A. Golovenko and G. Yastrebtsov: "Our Weapon Is Glasnost"; place, date not given]

[Text] [PRAVDA] Gennadiy Vasilyevich! According to our reports, people have noticed how the style of the meetings of the USSR KNK [People's Control Committee] has changed. They have become sharper and more topical, and the rank of managers "who are being heard" has been raised. But the authors of letters to PRAVDA think that, in the epoch of glasnost and the democratization of our entire life, control in its original Leninist understanding has not yet appeared in a way that life requires. People would like to know more about the specific results of the work of the USSR KNK. They are also interested in your contacts with the country's Supreme Soviet, the government, the ministries, and the departments. Apparently, this has its own kpd [efficiency factor].

[Kolbin] Quite so. These contacts are determined by the tasks that confront us today: On the one hand, to revive the Leninist tradition of worker-peasant inspection, and, on the other hand, to increase control to the level of perestroyka tasks. The committee is trying to use its rights in order not only to participate actively in the management of state affairs, but also to assist specific persons and to see their daily needs without fail.

The recent increase in the status of the USSR KNK gives us confidence in our own strengths. At committee meetings, we now examine important questions that have a national significance, with members of the government participating. According to our information, the Council of Ministers has also made a number of important decisions. I can mention, for example, the important measure for regulating the activity of medical cooperatives, the fulfillment of the housing program by the year 2000, and also the decisions of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to stabilize the consumer market and to strengthen state control over prices in 1989-1990.

Today we are working, it can be said, in close collaboration with USSR People's Deputies. Recently, together with the Commission of the USSR Council on Labor Questions, Prices, and Social Policy and the Committee on Agrarian Questions and Foodstuffs, we studied the system of supplying kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] with modern equipment and the validity of prices for it. As a result of this action, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a special resolution.

[PRAVDA] But, you see, the most important task of the organs of the NK [People's Control], however, is not the "paper struggle," but a very real struggle with bad management, abuses, and the exaggeration of achieved results...

[Kolbin] NK has always been engaged in this. However, today we at times have to listen to idle discussions about the fact that, they say, the collectives of enterprises will acquire economic independence, they will become bosses in production, and then the need for control will disappear by itself. This, of course, is the common, dialectical approach to a serious problem. With the appearance of new forms of labor activity, with direct relations, with an ever increasing independence of enterprises, negative tendencies have also surfaced, and there are very many temptations and opportunities to "be in on a good thing." And, I judge by the mail to the USSR KNK and to PRAVDA that people expect very decisive action from us in this connection. They demand stricter treatment of the manipulators and resolute suppression of violations of the law.

We are trying to operate precisely this way. Recently, a coordination council was established under the USSR KNK, which was joined by managers of many control

organs of the country: Gosplan [State Planning Committee], Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards], Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], Goskomtsen [State Committee on Prices], MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], Minfin [Ministry of Finance], and Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection]. The pledge of success, of course, does not lie in the number of verifiers. But, we think, that the collective mind is a good helper in the matter. We hope that friendly joint work will provide an opportunity to each of the members of the council to conduct verifications more thoroughly and efficiently, and, the main thing, to resolve burning issues in a practical way.

We also understand another thing: Closer contact is needed with the press, radio, and television. You see, glasnost is our weapon. Without it, noticeable results cannot be counted upon. It is one thing to admonish a poor manager at a meeting of the USSR KNK, and even to remove him from his post, and it is quite another thing to talk at the top of one's voice about his "tricks" in the press. There should be no concealments here from the people, let them learn about their antiheroes, and let them see who is blocking the path on the way to perestroyka.

[PRAVDA] There are quite a few thoughts in the mail to the editor about the fact that the people's controllers have poor capabilities, especially locally. What, for instance, can two or three staff workers of a rayon committee do?

[Kolbin] We look at this differently. Indeed, staff committees are numerically small. But, you see, the organs of people's control are not supposed to work by themselves, but with the assistance and support of the population; they must rely on the experience and knowledge of specialists, motivate the civic activity of the people, and educate them not to reconcile themselves to those who violate our morality and our laws.

The Union KNK tries to help local comrades, to help them in a practical way. We, for example, organized a regular reception for visitors to our offices. It is conducted by me, as the committee chairman, my deputies, and department heads. It is surprising at times the extent to which people in state enterprises treat the people callously and bureaucratically. So they go to Moscow to seek protection. And here in many ministries and departments there also flourishes the often criticized practice of "passing off" complaints to those who are being complained against. There, "below," naturally, they try to consider a person's statement trifling, groundless, and then the official rejection becomes something of a source of "justice," and it is rubber-stamped by other verifying organs.

[PRAVDA] Can you cite specific examples?

[Kolbin] Of course. Quite a few trying experiences had to be undergone by T. Kirillova, the bookkeeper at the "Yakutstroy" trust, who wrote to various offices about the fictitious turning over for operation of a house construction combine costing R98 million. For her just criticism, revenge was taken out on her, she was discharged from work, and the DSK [house construction combine), which was well thought of, still did not operate for 2 years. The managers of the republic and union departments carefully covered up those guilty of bureaucracy and helped them get managerial positions in other regions of the country.

After looking into this outrageous story at a meeting of the USSR KNK, T. Kirillova was reinstated in her job. We submitted the verification material to the country's public prosecutor. We hope to get a detailed answer from him.

[PRAVDA] It seems that perestroyka has not cured many of the managers of that chronic ailment of report mania and bureaucracy?

[Kolbin] That is so. What is more, the deception at times becomes even somewhat militant as if it were great valor. Take at least the episode of the acceptance of incomplete capacities at the Tyumen plant of large panel housing construction. Major upward distortions were disclosed there. The Kalininskiy Rayon of the KNK gave this fact a fundamental evaluation. However, the oblast administration, the local department of the USSR Promstroybank [Industrial Construction Bank], the managers of the USSR Minneftegazstroy [Ministry of the Petroleum Industry]—G. Shmal, L. Shirayevskiy, and others—ignored the demands of the committee about the exclusion from accounts of illegally accepted capacities.

We supported the rayon committee, disciplined the defenders of upward distortions and bureaucracy, and made them materially responsible. On the order of Minister V. Chirskov, the account was corrected. But we feel that it is still a little too early to put the material in the archives. A year has passed and the capacities, as before, are still not operational. Tremendous resources are rendered inactive. We cannot leave this matter this way, and it absolutely must be brought to a logical end.

[PRAVDA] According to the editorial mail, it appears that the people liked this persistence by the committee. They have come to believe that people's control is not an empty sound, and that it is also capable of making a deal when it is necessary and to assist those who need help. Very likely, the number of written and oral communications to you in the KNK has increased?

[Kolbin] Recently, about 11,000 letters have arrived. You are right, the people believe in us. But this is, so to say, a credit which all of us, in the center and locally, still have to repay with more purposeful and more resolute work. The conditions under which it is necessary to work are far from easy. At times the chain of violations stretches to such offices that you are amazed. For example, to the USSR Ministry of Defense. Here is a specific case.

While checking on information from K. Vulman, the chairman of the council of labor collectives of the special enterprise Mosgorispolkom [the executive committee of the Moscow City soviet of workers' deputies], we unraveled a scheme that was amazing in its venturesome scope. V. Reymarov, chief of the first department of USSR Gosplan, V. Kozhbakteyev, chief of staff of USSR Civil Defense, and S. Martynov, chief of Mosorgglavsnab [Moscow organization of material and technical supply] of USSR Gossnab, signed a document which authorized, without compensation, the transfer of 1.5 million gas masks to a specially created cooperative "Tekhnokrat-89." They were to be used for training purposes or sold on the open market to the population, or at least at the widely advertised fair at which the Ministry of Defense sold unneeded equipment.

But "Tekhnokrat, after getting the gas masks "without paying," got involved in business, intending to receive about R2 million in a clever operation. We stopped this illegal venture. But the question comes up: How was it possible?

Very likely, because the wives of the participating officials were collaborating in this cooperative: the wives of A. Pavlov, chief of a department of the USSR Gosplan; V. Kiselev, chief of the Directorate of Chemical Troops of the USSR Ministry of Defense; and A. Kanunnikov, senior expert of USSR Gosplan. The chief bookkeeper there was N. Zavyalkin, the deputy chief of financial inspection of the Ground Forces of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

The committee punished the names of the guilty persons and expressed its views on this account to the USSR Council of Ministers. Minister of Defense D. Yazov, on his part, gave all participants in the scheme what they had coming. Subjected to disciplinary punishment were Lieutenant General N. Dolgin, Lieutenant General B. Perfilyev, Lieutenant General Yu. Kirillov, Captain First Rank V. Kiselev, and Colonel N. Savyalkin who, through their ties with the cooperative "Tekhnokrat-89," compromised the rank of officer, and were discharged from the Armed Forces.

[PRAVDA] PRAVDA has already written about how the people's controllers were "fighting" with officials of Mosgorzdrav [Moscow city health department], who gave the cooperative "LIK"—not gas masks—but an entire polyclinic, and distributed equipment, instruments, and medication...

[Kolbin] Indeed, the committee had to show character here as well. The merchants did not want to concede anything. For gross infringement of elementary moral and legal norms in medical cooperatives, the executive committee of the Mossovet [Moscow City soviet of workers' deputies] relieved R. Anufriyev, the first deputy chief of Mosgorzdrav, from his post. The building that was illegally turned over to the cooperative was recently returned to an economically accountable hospital.

[PRAVDA] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, of late journalists have been accused more and more frequently of seeking "enticing" facts. Any criticism of one or another manager for an absolutely sound and specific reason is interpreted as an attack on authority, shattering of prestige, etc. Do the people's controllers run into similar accusations?

[Kolbin] It happens. We have already said that many official abuses of the principle of perestroyka have by no means disappeared. In various places, the real fight against them has not begun. Moreover, there are always protectors who in the name of the "honor" of a branch or oblast take up an all-around defense, and they even sometimes go on the offensive. From this comes the reproaches of "undermining authority." That is where glasnost is simply indispensable.

For example, our comrades had to listen to the lectures of F. Popov, first secretary of the Altay Kray party committee, who tried to shield A. Zatler, deputy chairman of the kray agricultural industry. This manager "botched" things up so badly that 3,000 tons (!) of rennet cheese was spoiled. So, he reprocessed it into processed cheese, but the statistical account showed: They said they were selling one and the other. It turned out as if the population of Altay Kray ate twice as much cheese as they produced.

Unfortunately, this "forgery" did not disturb USSR People's Deputy A. Kuleshov, chairman of the Altay Kray ispolkom [executive committee]. He sent a request to the USSR KNK to lighten A. Zatler's punishment. They ask, is strictness necessary here, when the production of agricultural products in the kray is increasing, and it is even shipped to other regions? I do not for a minute doubt that, when they prepared such a justifying petition, they did not consult with the people. They would not have received support.

[PRAVDA] One could hear persistent calls at the Second Congress of People's Deputies to pay particular attention to privileges...

[Kolbin] This really is a critical and long discussed question. But there are privileges that are provided by law. The Supreme Soviet will decide whether they will or will not exist. But it is not possible for us to close our eyes to such privileges, which various ranks of lawmakers create for themselves, abusing their official position.

Recall the sad memory of the hunting cabins? PRAVDA has written more than once about them. It turns out that such "royal lands" have not been transferred yet. Not long ago, according to a statement of one of the huntsmen of Smolensk Oblast, we conducted a preliminary check. We found out that in April of last year, with the reformation of the USSR agricultural industry, someone for some reason wanted to maintain his influence over the hunting business. They acted there in a straightforward way: They called them state animal and poultry breeding associations and switched them to the books of the VNPO [all-union scientific production

association] "Soyuzptitseprom." Although the poultry industry has no kind of relationship to hunting, it was given six hunting areas to maintain: "Smolensk," "Zagorsk," "Pokrovsk," and others.

After receiving this gift, the "poultry kingdom" did not lay golden eggs, but huge losses. And how else could it be? For example, the farm "Smolensk" built a hunting "hut" with an area of 560 square meters with a sauna and a swimming pool, and a dining hall with a refined interior. They furnished apartments with expensive furniture and decorated it with pictures. They erected an administrative building for its management, 50 square meters for each manager.

The duty of the management is to assure a successful hunt. In what way? This way: Turn the hunting land in fact... into a fattening site. Not hunting, but some kind of meat procurement. The density of animals here is six times higher than in the normal hunting area. And feed is needed, and a lot of it. Where is it to be gotten? They "attached" the shooting lands to poultry factories; and they have feed, and the profit is respectable. Costs? No matter, they will bear it somehow...

[PRAVDA] Your story will not be complete, if the readers do not learn the names of the responsible riflemen.

[Kolbin] Many metropolitan managers honored the hunting grounds with their presence: V. Gromyko, deputy minister of health; G. Romanenko, deputy chairman of agriculture industry of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]; V. Zubenko, director of the motor pool of this firm; and other amateurs. A. Orlov, the chairman of the Smolensk oblispolkom, staffs the oblast team of hunters himself.

Users of the huts can cast the reproach: They have even started to upbraid us for amateur hunting! Of course, if they hunted according to the rules like everyone else, would there be anything to talk about? But when you go many versts from Moscow, there is no harm in thinking: Are you not too important a bird to be leading the state into such expenditures? What have you done to deserve this "super service?"

The USSR KNK has not examined this question yet, but, I think, that the members of the committee will react very severely both to the organizers of the so-called animal and poultry farms and to the "hunter sportsmen."

[PRAVDA] Gennadiy Vasilyevich, in all of the innovations that occur in the work of people's control locally and on a national scale, do you take into account that you are living according to the law that was adopted back in the time of stagnation? In the opinion of readers, this restrains the committees, restricts their possibilities, and even simply does not correspond to the spirit of today's changes.

[Kolbin] There is no hiding the fact that much in the work of the USSR KNK and its organs really needs substantial renewal. We cannot be satisfied with the effectiveness of control. Very frequently the people's controllers give themselves credit only for the number of verifications and spot checks, and the number of those who are punished. But what is important is not the semifinished product, but the real job, and the real job is end results.

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies decided to accelerate the preparation of the new Law on People's Control. And we now are preparing new criteria for our work. The main thing here, in our opinion, should be specifically the indicators of high efficiency. All spot checks and verifications are obligated to be directed at a real lift in the economy and a sharp reduction in monetary and material losses in the national economy.

And as long as there is no new law, all of us must better utilize the current, and incidentally considerable, capabilities for a more effective fight with all kinds of obstacles on the road to perestroyka. And here, I will repeat once more: Glasnost is our most important weapon.

Vorotnikov Holds Talks With Deputies

PM3001102190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Deputies"]

[Text] Comrade V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, has had a meeting with USSR people's deputies elected from the RSFSR—S.V. Vasilyev, A.O. Karaulov, and V.N. Matyukha—and with their experts. Questions of the Russian Federation's economic sovereignty and of strengthening people's deputies' contacts with Russia's state organs, scientific establishments, and public organizations were discussed during the talks. The work of the republic mass media was touched upon. There was also discussion of changes in the republic's political structures, of problems of interethnic relations, and certain others.

Volgograd Obkom Bureau Resigns After Criticism

PM3001113990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Kornev report: "Party Obkom Bureau Resigns"]

[Text] Volgograd—On 27 January Volgograd TV's evening transmissions were interrupted for an urgent announcement. V. Katunin, obkom [oblast committee] secretary, had come to the studio to give the oblast residents an immediate briefing on the results of the

recent party obkom bureau session. The bureau decided to ask the obkom plenum to accept its collective resignation.

A step has been taken which people lacked the resolve to take 3 days ago, when V. Kalashnikov, first secretary of Volgograd party obkom, resigned.

Making the urgent announcement on TV, V. Katunin frankly said that the bureau was now submitting its collective resignation in the light of the demands of Volgograd people. The next plenum, earlier scheduled for 24 January, will be held 30 January. The main point on the agenda will be the convening of an emergency oblast party election conference in February. There has also been talk of the measures taken on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee's information on violations of housing legislation and social justice.

"This situation, of course, is rare," V. Katunin said. "Following the bureau's collective resignation the plenum will have to set up an interim organizational bureau of obkom members enjoying general support and prestige."

Kuzbass Strike Talks End, Further Solutions Sought

LD2901105690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The government commission verifying the fulfillment of the protocol on agreed measures between the regional strike committee and the commission of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has completed its work in the Kuzbass.

Joint decisions have been adopted on most of the issues discussed. The members of the Council of Workers' committees still consider some points of the protocol unfulfilled. It therefore has been decided to set up an additional commission to seek mutually acceptable solutions.

The government recently has adopted a package of documents on the social and economic development of the Kuzbass. The most important of these is considered to be the granting to the oblast of the opportunity to manage its affairs in a new way on the basis of self-financing and self-capitalization. The resource allocation for tackling social problems is being increased almost two-fold during the present 5-year period. There will be a sharp increase in the quantity of housing commission, polyclinics, kindergartens, and schools. All this will help to alleviate social tension in the oblast.

Irregularities in RSFSR Election Campaigns

WA2901200890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 3, 20 Jan 90 p 8

[Article by G. Vladimirova: "Everything Is Done Under Law"]

[Text] More than 8,000 candidates are competing for the 1,068 seats of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's candidates. As soon as the process of their registration began, the struggle for the right to remain on the lists also became more acute. Recently, the working group of the Central Election Commission which considers appeals of illegitimate actions and decisions by district election commissions has been meeting virtually every day. Violations of procedures in the course of nominations, conduct of meetings, and voting are among the most typical conflicts. Deficiencies in keeping minutes are also frequent. There have been attempts to circumvent the law and influence district commissions by applying pressure "on behalf of the public."

At the Central Election Commission, the passions are quelled in the only proper way—by strictly following the legislation in effect.

Tamara Sergeyevna, deputy chairman of the Central Election Commission, chaired the meeting. An unconventional situation at the meeting of representatives of the labor collective of the now famous Vorgashorskaya Mine was discussed. A telegram from Vorkuta referred to the misplaced trust of miners, and promised "unpredictable events." So, the events were thoroughly reconstructed in the presence of the opponents.

A pre-election conference was scheduled for 23 January, but there was no quorum. At 1000 a week later, the conference did not begin again: as District Commission Chairman V. Orlov testified, at 1200, when the expected candidate, V. Ivanov, appeared in the auditorium, it was announced that there was a quorum. V. Ivanov was nominated as one of four candidates. He got more votes than others, though a repeat vote had to be held. However, the district commission refused to register him finding quite a few violations in the course of the meeting. Judging by what the citizens of Vorkuta said, the meeting was quite emotional, and its participants ignored the advice to conduct the voting in keeping with the prescribed norms—"in favor," "against," "abstentions"—considering them bureaucratic devices. They voted only in favor and the number entered in the minutes did not correspond to the quorum. There were other circumstances which caused the candidate to fail. Thus, being a resident of Moscow, he cannot represent a national-territorial district. Having understood this after the meeting ended, the voters proposed to run their candidate in another, territorial district, but it was too late... No matter how much the representatives of the mine insisted that the workers do not care which district their candidate is registered in, the Central Election Commission was compelled to confirm the decision to refuse [registration] by the district election commission.

In a number of cases, the Central Election Commission, whose decision is final, rejected decisions to refuse by district commissions, and in other cases let some decisions stand. I will note that experienced lawyers were included in the working group.

SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent in the Central Chernozem Zone Eduard Yefremov has been registered as a candidate RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy in national-territorial district No 33. He is running for the Voronezh Oblast Soviet at the same time.

Deputy Chief of the Graphics Department of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Valeriy Panov has been nominated a candidate deputy of the Moscow Oblast Soviet in election district No 43 (city of Dolgoprudnyy).

New Publications Launched in Chita

LD2901092190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper, GOLOS TRUDYASHCHIKHSYA, [Voice of the Working People] has been brought out in Chita. On the pages of the oblast trade union council's weekly are problem materials connected with the increased activity of the local soviets of the committee [as heard], their influence on improving the working and living conditions of people residing in Baykal region.

Founders of another new periodical are Chita's branch of the USSR Journalists' Union and the Provisional Committee for Fighting Crime. Employees of the newspaper NABAT intend to publish previously classified information about the work of the Directorate of the Internal Affairs and militia subunit, and to promote the involvement of public forces in strengthening law and order in the region.

Central Committee Journal DIALOG Published

LD2901090490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The first issue of DIALOG, a new sociopolitical journal of the CPSU Central Committee, has been published. Let me speak about it in a bit more detail. The journal proposes that readers participate in debates on material included in the sections; party and society, political struggle; ideas and conceptions; and others. It is stressed in a conversation with Comrade Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that today, there is nothing more important for ideological work than promoting the real advancement of perestroyka and the profound revitalization of the CPSU.

In the article "Who is a Bolshevik today?" the ...rent affairs writer, Solomonov, asks the question: Today there is an empty place at the feast of pluralism; where are the Marxists? The author contemplates the state of the party's intellectual potential and the role of the social sciences in restructuring processes.

An article by Popov broaches the topic of the sore spots of renewal and philosphical thinking. The debate is continued by prominent social scientists whom the editors asked to answer the question of why philosophers are remaining silent. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad oblast party committee and city party committee, in a conversation entitled "Time and Action", compares our party with a boat that is turning round and round on one spot because of the uncoordinated efforts of the rowers. The author speaks in depth about how efforts should be united and how accurately to choose the course to take. Under the headline "Topic of the Day" is a discussion of the draft laws on land, cooperatives, and the press.

News Conference on Cost of Chernobyl Repairs

LD2901185790 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukranian 2015 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A press conference has been organized at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station for Soviet and foreign journalists. Our corespondents, Yevhen Rukunkov and Ihor Kulinichenko, attended it.

[Correspondent] We inspected the town of Pripyat, the machine hall, and the control panel of the first power unit. Afterwards a 2-hour press conference took place, with high officials of the Atomenergo participating. [passage omitted] Among those answering questions was Umanets, director of the Nuclear Electric Power Station. The first question was asked by my colleague from the "Promin" program:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Please tell us this: According to the unspecified data, last year about R40 million was spent for repairs and various cosmetic work on the sarcophagus. A year before the figure was close to R70 million. And now, as is known, plans for a new sarcophagus are being drawn up, which will cost nearly R1 billion. How far advanced are you in the working-out of a new sarcophagus?

[Umanets] Your figures are more or less correct. The money was spent on carrying out exceptionally important programs. We had to find out whether a chain reaction would be possible in the reactor of the fourth power unit. The money was spent wisely—no chain reaction will take place. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] I am from the YEDINSTVO agency. Mr Umanets, you have stated that what we need is the truth and nothing but the truth. Then why have we not been told all the truth about the number of victims resulting from the incident in Chernobyl?

[Umanets] If we are to talk about the whole truth, then during the elimination of the consequences of the breakdown and as a result of radiation impact and as a result of psychological stresses, the health of many workers was wrecked. Today we have sicknesses and even deaths which can be linked with the Chernobyl breakdown. However, I do not have any statistics on how many persons have died as a result. [passage omitted] [end recording]

New Center Set Up for Chernobyl Decontamination

LD2901160290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] A new organization has been created in the Chernobyl area, the "Pripyat" scientific-production association. It will undertake the organization and coordination of research work and the testing and introduction of effective decontamination methods.

Within the framework of the association an international scientific center is being created. This initiative is supported by the IAEA, and already companies from 26 countries and 8 international organizations have applied to participate in it. And so, finally, Soviet and foreign specialists will be able to study the whole experience of eliminating the effects of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident.

Rostropovich, Vishnevskaya Citizenship Returned

90UN0709A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shalnev: "12 Years Later"]

[Text] **A decree by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet restored the USSR citizenship of M.L. Rostropovich and G.P. Vishnevskaya.**

I cannot say that Mstislav Rostropovich was surprised at the news. He felt or, probably, knew that this was going to happen sooner or later.

It seems I was the first to inform the maestro and Galina Vishnevskaya about the USSR Supreme Soviet decree reinstating them in their Soviet citizenship. They kept asking me again and again, they wanted me to tell them the exact wording: Whether it meant "returned" or "reinstated"; whether there was an explanation of the decision.

What did surprise Mstislav Rostropovich was the fact that according to the present decree, 12 years ago both he and his wife were stripped of their state decorations and honorary titles from the USSR People's Artists. "We had no idea of that," said the musician.

This was in the morning and in the afternoon when the news of the decree spread by the information agencies, the telephone was disconnected in the Rostropovich apartment in Washington. The only thing I could do was to speak to Mstislav Leopoldovich's secretary who explained that the maestro was simply not ready for interviews and wanted to get his thoughts together. "Maybe, a little later," she said, "the maestro will speak to the press but for now I have a prepared statement which I can read to you."

"A statement by whom?" I asked.

"By Galina and Slava; they have handwritten it in Russian."

The statement read as follows:

"We consider the restoration of our Soviet citizenship as a direct and open admission of a mistake made in the past. Our government awards were returned to us, the ones that had been taken away by a special decree, as we discovered only today. We remain faithful to our friendship with the great Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. At some point in time this position of ours caused our exile, so we will feel completely satisfied only after this genius is completely reinstated with his own people. The many years of our life that have passed in the West since our banishment do not allow us so far to change our life again. However, the act of our rehabilitation makes possible future artistic and human contacts with our people, contacts that were so shamelessly and artificially severed by the Soviet Government in 1978.

[signed] Vishnevskaya, Rostropovich.

That night Mstislav Rostropovich conducted his orchestra—the National Symphony. The entire program was made up of works by Petr Ilyich Tchaikovsky.

Officials in Tash-Kumyr Elected

LD2801223190 Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1300 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] A plenum of the Kirgiz Communist Party-Tash-Kumyr town party committee was held on 25 January to examine an organizational matter.

The plenum released Mamyrov from his duties as first secretary of the town party committee, in connection with his appointment as head of the socioeconomic department of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee. (Kazakov), who had been working as chairman of the people's deputies of the Tash-Kumyr town soviet executive committee, was elected first secretary of the Tash-Kumyr town party committee.

On the same day, the people's deputies of the Tash-Kumyr town soviet executive committee met to examine an organizational matter. Ryzkulbekov, who had been working as secretary of the Tash-Kumyr [word indistinct] was elected chairman of the people's deputies of Tash-Kumyr town soviet executive committee.

Economic

Azerbaijan, Armenia Economic Performance Viewed

LD2801120390 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov:

There are largely common reasons behind the gaps in the supply of soap and powdered detergents to the Soviet trade network, which forced the country to increase 10-fold the import of detergents in 1989, and this year's

sudden scarcity of cigarettes. One of them is the ongoing ethnic conflict in Transcaucasia.

Given the preserved production monopolism in the USSR coupled with a very high level of cooperative links in the country's economy, frequent stoppages in the production of chemicals in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait or cigarette paper in Yerevan, Armenia, painfully affect consumers cross the country and are a heavy burden on the consumer market weak as it is. The conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, now subsiding, now bursting into a bloody flame, as has happened this January, has a specific economic dimension.

According to the figures of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the national income of the two republics, with a population of slightly more than 10 million, stood at 16.8 billion roubles in 1989, or 2.6 per cent of the All-Union production. They contribute over a quarter of their output to the All-Union fund.

For instance, Azerbaijan supplies 37 per cent of the produced oil and gas, 65 per cent of chemicals and 40 per cent of food products to other parts of the country.

As for Armenia, before the devastating earthquake of 1988, it exported 65 per cent of its light industry output, 59 per cent of chemicals, and virtually all trucks, motor-tyres, farm machinery, electronics, instruments and many other goods produced in the republic. The plant in Spitak, which was destroyed by the earthquake, turned out a quarter of all lifts produced in the country.

The two republics also heavily depend on other areas of the country. Azerbaijan fully meets its requirements in timber, paper, cardboard, motor-tyres and soda ash through imports. Union supplies of ferrous metals (51 per cent of the republic's consumption), chemical industry products (46 per cent), and light industry output (39 per cent) are crucial to Azerbaijan. Almost half of the meat sold in the state sector and 79 per cent of milk products are imported to the republic.

Armenia, in turn, totally depends on the imported fuel. It imports 93 per cent of ferrous metals, 56 per cent of chemicals and light industry goods, and 32 per cent of machines and equipment. The republic also takes delivery of a large quantity of milk, meat, sugar, butter, and fish.

Lastly, both Armenia and Azerbiajan import all needed photo cameras, vacuum cleaners, radio sets and other consumer durables.

Azerbaijan accounts for just 0.8 per cent in Soviet experts, and Armenia—0.1 per cent.

Azerbaijan exports two per cent of its industrial output and Armenia—0.7 per cent.

Fines Increased for Idle Freight Cars

LD2601211490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] We have reported more than once that an extremely tense situation has arisen of late with the unloading of freight cars and the removal of cargoes and containers from railway stations. Periods of enforced idling have sharply increased. Serious difficulties have emerged in providing freight cars and containers for enterprises. In these conditions, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on raising five-fold the fines for above-norm enforced idling. A government commission headed by Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has been set up to stabilize the situation on the railways.

Our correspondent Anatoliy Goldin is now at the Ministry of Railways. He attended a conference devoted to the current situation and is now on the line. Anatoliy, please tell us what has changed in the work of transport over the last working week?

[Goldin] According to what I have just learned in the Ministry of Railways, over the last week, to-date there are 23,000 unloaded freight cars at stations and on approach lines. This is 5,000 fewer than a week ago, but if one compares last January and the current one, there is an increase of nearly 8,000 freight cars. The Russian Federation is the worst in terms of freight car unloading, again. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] Well, Anatoliy, and what is the situation with fuel transportation?

[Goldin] Well, on the whole the railwaymen have huge debts here. Over the 26 days in January 800,000 tonnes of petroleum products have not been transported. At the same time, transport failed to receive more than 500,000 tons of petroleum products when they supplied freight cars for loading. This also happens, unfortunately. And you would agree that it is scandalous that in a situation when there is shortage of fuel tanks, in Klaipeda alone 949 freight cars with petroleum products are standing at the moment at the entrance to the fuel depot. And railwaymen had to leave 400 fuel tanks at a distance from Klaipeda so as not to completely block the Klaipeda junction.

[Presenter] I see. And you know that the enforced idling of freight cars with consumer goods is causing great concern. There are rumors that their number is very high. What can you say about that?

[Goldin] There are firm figures. Today the railwaymen conducted a stock-taking, on a nationwide scale, of the consumer goods and food that has already arrived at stations and is waiting to be despatched to the trade network. So, to-date there are 14,000 tonnes of food and 13,000 tonnes of industrial goods waiting to be unloaded. Refrigerators containing meat have been waiting for weeks in Moscow and Leningrad. [passage omitted]

Economic Statistics No Cause for Satisfaction

PM2601184190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by M. Berger: "Keeping Fewer and Fewer Secrets From Ourselves"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has prepared a report on the results of the country's socio-economic development in 1989. A detailed account will be published soon in IZVESTIYA.

The right to information, particularly information that relates to the state of affairs in society, is prominent among the numerous individual rights that have been gained by civilization.

But if only recently one of us had made even an elementary inquiry, such as about how many servicemen the taxpayer supports, it would have been impossible to obtain the information. And if one had persisted in one's efforts to obtain an answer to this question one would have found oneself under suspicion: Is he a spy, or what? Nowadays these things are freely and easily available, like checking the evening's television programs. We have 4 million servicemen, the State Committee for Statistics reports. It reports it, and the sky does not fall in as a result.

The report provides a large quantity of data that are new or were previously unavailable to mere mortals. At last the "specter" of inflation, which had not been admitted in statistics, now appears, clothed in figures. On the basis of a register of prices of 650 types of goods in various cities, the State Committee has started to calculate inflation and, more important, openly report it.

Taking into account rising prices and the pressure of deferred demand "weighing in" at R165 billion, inflation was 7.5 percent. Admittedly, this is 5-6 percent below the level cited by Western experts, but it is good that it has appeared. After all, one has had to refer mainly to foreign sources when dealing with this figure and many other data that have been "restricted" for inexplicable reasons.

This enforced "contraband" in essential and publicly significant information has been a bad habit for a long time, unfortunately, and the humiliating observance of the tradition has been due to a very extensive area of secrecy established by no one knows who

Of course, it is not difficult to appreciate the desire to ration unpleasant or inconvenient information. If one dare not admit the state debt or, at least, not tell one's own people about it, and if one dare not show the real state of the economy, which indicates how well it is managed, then why not conveniently keep quiet about it? And this was common practice, as is known.

The present State Committee for Statistics report is evidence that there is less opportunity to keep things quiet. The days of statistical abridgment would seem to be passing, not without an active contribution from the government, in opening up more and more "reserve stocks of information" and from the Committee itself, which is making more and more proposals in this sphere.

Otherwise we would certainly be getting a higher indicator of the national income growth rate than 2.4 percent. But, for the first time in recent decades, the effect of rising prices has been reflected in the statistics.

For the first time we have also been told how much extra money was printed last year because the treasury had no other way of supplementing its income. Some R18 billion were put into circulation—a 56-percent increase on 1988. We have also learned that the internal state debt rose by almost R90 billion and reached the R400-billion mark. It is, of course, a pity that there are no increases in the areas we would like, but at least we know that this is the case rather than otherwise, and are drawing the appropriate conclusions.

This is the first time that we have read by how many rubles the population's income rose last year (R64 billion). In the past this figure was kept secret for some reason. The report talks about the scale of the rationing system in the country's trading network and many other phenomena with which we are familiar in our daily lives, but which are equally well-hidden at the official level.

Well, statistics are becoming closer to life, despite the fact that life is not improving and there seems to be no cause for experiencing a sense of profound satisfaction... What is good about increases in crime or the import of goods that we could quite easily produce at home, using hard currency in a more sensible and beneficial fashion? But we are aware of this and can ponder together what steps to take.

Of course, by no means all "reserve stocks of information" have been opened up. The foreign economic section is still scanty and financial statistics are "modest." Nonetheless, there are grounds for saying that we are gradually acquiring the right to information. It is a matter of broadening these rights.

Foreign Trade Exports, Statistics Detailed

LD2901100790 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Soviet foreign trade turnover increased by 4.7 per cent in 1989, the State Committee of the USSR for Statistics announced on Sunday.

Soviet exports amounted to 68.2 billion roubles, which is 1.1 billion roubles or 1.7 per cent more than in 1988. The Soviet Union imported 70.2 billion roubles worth of goods, which is 7.9 per cent more than in 1988.

Last year saw an increase in barter deliveries, including supplies within the framework of direct relations. The latter amounted to 1.8 billion roubles.

Trade turnover with socialist countries reduced a little and was estimated at 85.6 billion roubles, including 42.2 billion roubles of exports and 43.4 billion of imports.

Trade operations with western countries were marked by an increase of export-import operations. Soviet exports to these countries topped 26 billion roubles (a 7.6 per cent increase) and imports—26.8 billion roubles (a 23.6 per cent roubles increase).

The credit trade balance amounted to two billion roubles in 1989.

Purchases of foreign-made machinery and equipment virtually did not increase in 1989 compared with 1988. Imports of foodstuffs and food raw materials, including grain, coffee, cocoa beans, sugar, vegetable oils, as well as medicines, soap, synthetic detergents and cosmetics, have grown.

A total of 1,274 joint ventures were registered on soviet territory. They were set up by firms and organisations from 60 countries.

Ryzhkov Views Economic Policies, Progress

WA2901201090 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Answers from N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to questions from TRUD readers: "Our Common Concerns"; all amounts as published]

[Text] **Making the masses more active and political and making them interested in the success of perestroyka and economic and social transformations and at the same time showing concern for the difficult situation in the national economy—these tendencies and attitudes, which are typical of today's social life, are also fully reflected in TRUD's editorial mail. The urgency of the questions and the desire to understand what is going on in the country distinguish the letters addressed to the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N.I. Ryzhkov, who, as was previously reported in TRUD, agreed to answer questions from our readers. The mail increased appreciably after the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies which, having supported the government program, called for consolidation of forces in the society for practical implementation of the measures that were earmarked. Many of the letters touch upon issues for which the authors think there are as yet no answers, questionable opinions are expressed, and there is a request to explain the government position on crucial socioeconomic problems. The questions for Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov were compiled on the basis of an analysis of numerous letters.**

[Question] Nikolay Ivanovich! How do you assess the results of last year? Did we manage to overcome the negative tendencies? If so, then how is this concretely expressed? If not, why?

[Ryzhkov] Before beginning our dialogue within the framework of today's interview I should like to express my desire for it to proceed in the spirit of a real view of what is taking place in the economy, for it to be productive and useful, and for it to make it possible to see clearly the complex and sometimes contradictory processes in this transitional period in the development of the national economy. In a word, I want our conversation to be constructive, for it to be a direct and frank discussion with TRUD readers.

Now about the results of last year. At the outset I should like to clarify your question. I think that you are investing it with more meaning than rates, percentages, increases, and the like, which have traditionally been assigned exceptional significance when the topic has come around to the results that have been achieved. It seems to me that it is time to get away from such a purely formal analysis, which does little for an interpretation of the situations and trends developing in real life. Therefore I should like to begin discussing the results with the fact that 1989 was distinguished from all preceding years of perestroyka by the beginning of the broad practical realization of what had been conceived for transformation of the economy. And this means primarily the completion of the changeover of enterprises of all branches of the national economy to the principles of economic accountability, the implementation of a social reorientation of the economy, and the creation of economic and legal prerequisites for the establishment of such forms of management as leasing, cooperation, and individual labor activity.

To this we should add those concrete steps that were taken for an essential limitation of administrative methods as a result of changing the structure of management on the basis of merging ministries and administrations of a number of them, transferring many functions from the center to the republics and local areas, and revising the principal provisions of our agrarian policy with the corresponding changes in the system for management of the agroindustrial complex. One cannot but mention the decisions directed toward streamlining investment activity, reducing military expenditures, and reprofiling enterprises of the country's defense complex within the framework of the conversion that was started. Of course, this list does not encompass all the diversity of problems that were resolved both in the center and in the local areas, but only sketches the contours of the work that has been done in the most important areas of restructuring of the economy.

What do we have as a result of what we have spent this year? I shall begin with the positive since it is easier for me to change over from this to the part of your question which deals with whether or not we have succeeded in breaking the growing negative tendencies. I think we have managed to achieve the main thing—we have largely managed to "untie the hands" of the basic unit of the economy. This consists primarily in giving it broad opportunities to earn money for its own production and social development, to change enterprises over to new and more democratic economic relations with the state, and to give the labor collectives the right to freely sell some of the products they produce, to independently

select the forms of management, including leasing relations, and to create joint enterprises, concerns, associations, and other organizational-production structures. I shall not develop this topic any further. I shall simply say that the image of the basic production unit is beginning to change radically.

Management is becoming more and more independent and there is less and less possibility of dictatorship in the disposal of wages, foreign economic activity, personnel policy, and so forth. One must say that many enterprises have an inclination toward independent work. Their collectives have spoken out at the top of their voices about their rights. And this is good. But, like any movement, it is accompanied by the fact that it is necessary to overcome unpredictable obstacles as well. This is the logic of any development.

First of all it must be frankly admitted that economic accountability has not proceeded as we expected everywhere. This pertains primarily to agroindustrial production, light industry, construction, and a number of base branches of the economy. This is the first thing.

Second, many labor collectives and their leaders have turned out to be unprepared both for freedom and for self-financing in management. The consequences of this began to break out in a quite unexpected way.

Independence and democratization were frequently perceived as permissiveness and was transformed into irresponsibility in the performance of their duties. This led to increased losses of working time and the appearance of serious labor conflicts.

The basic duties of the collectives in providing the national economy with their products were frequently ignored, the production volumes dropped, and state orders were not fulfilled.

Self-financing was frequently achieved at any price, right down to inadmissible methods of obtaining more income without increasing the final product and the corresponding contribution of their labor.

In all this mosaic of negative manifestations I should like to single out the fact that the transfer of the rights to the local areas and their increased responsibility for satisfying the needs of the population for housing, food products, and other consumer goods in the majority of cases ran up against the inability and lack of readiness for this on the part of local management organs. Dependent attitudes are still around as is the desire to shift one's concerns and problems to one's neighbors and the center. This by no means does any good for the cause but, on the contrary, reinforces negative phenomena in a number of regions of the country.

In other words, although there was no confusion in relations with the center, the union republics, and the local authorities, one must say frankly that they were far from ideal.

I think that without understanding all this it is difficult to speak about the concrete results that were achieved last year. They show also that processes retarding the development of the economy are still strong, although the beginnings of the new, more active ones are gathering force. It was because of the positive beginnings that we were able to reduce the deficit of the state budget to R92 billion as against the R120 billion envisioned according to the initial plan, to provide for priority of investments in the social sphere, and to achieve more rapid growth of the production of consumer goods as compared to the production of means of production. This tendency will develop further this year.

Nor can one fail to mention the fact that to a certain degree we managed to improve the position of underprivileged families. The minimum amounts of pensions were increased for 23 million pensioners. We have eliminated the differences in pension support for workers of the city and the country. All these are important changes.

But many tendencies and processes are very strong and we have not managed to overcome them. This pertains first and foremost to the situation in the consumer market where the USSR State Committee for Statistics estimates the unsatisfied demand at R165 billion. We have failed to meet the earmarked plans in the construction of housing and facilities of the social sphere and certain of the most important production capacities have not been put into operation. The situation is still difficult in transportation, which is unable to assume its normal rhythm.

The results of the year are quite instructive. The main thing to which all of us—from the rank-and-file worker to the head of the government—are called is a consolidation of forces for overcoming the extremely adverse situation in the economy. Everything negative we have encountered this year should be opposed by active and effective measures and friendly joint work. We have common problems and we must solve them together.

[Question] "If one is to believe the press," it says in the letter from V. Kukosova from Voronezh, "last year the production of goods increased sharply; they wrote it they increased by R20 billion. Why is this increase not noticed on the shelves of the stores? Where are these goods?"

[Ryzhkov] The first impression I get from this question is that the person who wrote the letter has a general mistrust of the idea that the output of consumer goods is increasing. And this is easy to understand: If the shelves of the stores are not full any figures or evidence seem unconvincing. Therefore I shall not refer to the hundreds of thousands and millions of additional television sets, radios, tape recorders, clocks, and so forth that have been produced. In this case I think it is more important to answer the question of why not only is the addition not noticeable, but with respect to many items, why the situation in the consumer market has even become worse.

Usually everything is reduced to an unjustified increase in the monetary expenditures of the population. It is said that these are much greater than the growth either of labor productivity or of commodity turnover. Of course, a surplus of money erodes the consumer market. This is an important factor but not the only one. To reduce everything to this alone means not to see other factors in the aggravation of the deficit, and not always negative ones.

There are many examples of this. But I should like to give the one that elucidates the problem most clearly in an unexpected perspective. Look at what is happening. In recent years we have opened up broad possibilities for the development of garden and orchard societies and dacha cooperatives. The advantage from this is great, it is a necessary thing that directly corresponds to the interests of the Soviet people. Today more than 11 million families have suburban garden plots. Incidentally, I have already said that under the current Five-Year Plan we have done as much in this area as we have during all the years of Soviet power—the number of plots has doubled. Is this a positive process? Undoubtedly. But in a garden cottage or a dacha one wants to have a television set, a radio, a vacuum cleaner, a refrigerator—they do not want to have to take them from the city each time. And they usually take them to the dacha from the apartment and then buy new ones for the apartment. This has also required more construction materials, furniture, and garden equipment... And this was immediately reflected in the consumer market.

This burst of demand was not unexpected; it was predicted. But, unfortunately, a program earmarked for the output of goods was not fully realized and we failed to receive R13.5 million worth of products. Many enterprises not only did not fulfill the state order but did not even accept it in its full volume—as I said, not everyone was prepared for economic freedom. It is particularly unjustified to refuse to fulfill the state order, and this had an effect on the fact that strict economic sanctions were introduced for failing to meet delivery agreements.

So the growth of incomes, as we can see, was not the only factor. But this is what I should like to discuss especially. A negative role in the emptying of the store shelves is played by hoarding. It is not an easy thing to get rid of it. This is clear from the example of laundry detergents. We expanded their production and increased imports by a factor of eight. Last year we sold more than five kg of this product per resident—a 1.5-fold increase over 1988. But the hoarding continues. One-fifth of the annual sales have already been stored in people's apartments but buying for reserves still continues. Medicine is already sounding the alarm—there has been a sharp increase in the number of allergic diseases because the powder is stored in the residential premises, but this has not yet had a sobering effect. I think the market will soon be saturated with this product. But industry and trade must derive serious lessons: An artificial deficit is fraught with serious consequences.

[Question] Since the conversation has come around to consumer goods there is another question but it pertains to this year. There is to be an unprecedented increase in the output of goods—R66 billion. Is this realistic? The restructuring of the economy and reprofiling of enterprises are always accompanied by temporary drops in production rates, but we are planning to increase them...

[Ryzhkov] You said that all the questions are coming from the editorial mail. If this is so, then look at this interesting aspect of the problem the readers have noticed: Increased output of goods—restructuring—drop in rates—increased production in the plan—it would seem that there is a paradox in all of this. But this is only at first glance and only if one does not fully take into account the nature of the changes taking place in the national economy.

In essence there are two questions here: One pertains to the program for the output of goods and to other to the development of the national economy as a whole. Is there a connection between them? Undoubtedly, but certainly not the one indicated by this question. The restructuring and the reprofiling of enterprises and the change in priorities are indeed linked to the retardation of the rates of development of a number of branches. But the whole thing is that in this case we are not speaking about the output of goods for the people but about heavy industry products—group "A" and the defense branches. Yes, here we have deliberately begun to reduce rates—for example products of group "A" last year increased slowly, by less than one percent. But it is the utilization of these capacities that is one of the ways of increasing the output of consumer goods. The restructuring of the economy and the conversion were not begun today and this year they should produce a great return.

Of course, this is not the only way we shall be able to achieve an unprecedented increase in the output of consumer goods. The system of economic incentives is working today in such a way that it makes it advantageous for labor collectives to produce mainly these products. You know, practice clearly shows that the ruble is much stronger than administrative orders and even in the fourth quarter when these incentives went into effect the social orientation of the economy for human needs became more appreciable.

Here it was also necessary to solve such a crucial problem as providing the necessary material-technical and financial resources for the programs for producing consumer goods. For the first time in the state plan there was a separate line for target allotment of resources for assignments for producing goods and introducing specific production capacities.

Measures have also been earmarked for large-scale technical retooling of light industry and other branches so as to obtain a rapid return from this. Of course a good deal is being done but there are still many problems.

Thus the earmarked growth of the production of consumer goods is precisely checked on the basis of deep and comprehensive developments and quite realistic goals.

[Question] "Formerly I was against the monetary reform," writes D. Nikishkin from Sverdlvosk, "but now I think that there is no other way to get rid of these billions of 'empty' rubles that have no products to back them up. This reform will not make things any worse for honest people." Today many people have opinions like this...

[Ryzhkov] Let us imagine for a moment that we conducted a monetary reform today and tomorrow we came with a new ruble or other monetary unit to a store, a laundry, or a workshop—there is the same shortage and narrow assortment of goods and services, the same impossibility of spending the ruble. Why do we need such a reform if it will not lead to anything except dissatisfaction of significant segments of the population and can have a painful effect on the standard of living of the Soviet people? I am not even speaking about the real sociopolitical consequences of such a step. In a word, if the reform is not accompanied by an elimination of the causes of the disorder of the monetary system it has no chance of success.

I am convinced that unless we take measures to balance finances, improve the economy, and provide for a balance of supply and demand, the effect from this extraordinary measure will be nil, and the current situation in the sphere of monetary circulation could return in a very short time.

Experience in conducting monetary reforms shows that they are preceded by radical changes in the economy. For example, the monetary reform of 1895 was preceded by the elimination of the chronic deficit in the state budget and the doubling of the country's gold supply.

The success of the 1924 reform was also provided by eliminating the budget deficit and strictly economizing on expenditures, including military ones. Moreover the changeover to the NEP [New Economic Policy] was accompanied by rapid growth of agricultural production and a significant increase in the output of consumer goods.

The preparation for the 1947 reform began while the war was still on, in 1943. The increased taxation and the distribution of large state loans made it possible to run the budget without a deficit and to eliminate budget emissions of money. The reform was conducted after the accumulation of significant commodity supplies. Of course we know how much that cost our people during those years.

Currently, successful implementation of the monetary reform is impeded by the impossibility of eliminating the budget deficit in a short time, in one or two years and completely halting budget emissions of money that is not backed up by commodity resources.

And a couple more words about something proponents of reform frequently refer to. In unequivalent exchange of money, for example more than R10,000 or R20,000, they see the possibility of putting an end to the shadow economy in our country easily, in one fell swoop. I think these are mythical hopes. Shady dealers who are worth their salt will be able to hide their capital, put it in real estate, valuables, and other "shelters" for dishonestly acquired money. There must be other, more effective measures to fight against the shadow economy, including extraordinary ones.

In other words, on the basis of a careful study of the experience in conducting monetary reforms in our country and abroad and an analysis of the current condition of the economy we have arrived at the firm conviction that it is inexpedient to conduct a monetary reform. Our monetary circulation does indeed need immediate and radical measures to improve it, but not the kind of "shock therapy" that a monetary reform would be. We must get out of the current situation by economic means and mainly through the implementation of the measures for improving the national economy adopted at the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

[Question] There are heated debates about the agroindustrial complex. Many people think that restructuring in the economy must begin with turning the land over to the peasants and write that we have been wasting time. There are many people who doubt that the peasant will take the land today, that there will be anybody who wants it.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, indeed there is much that is clearer from a distance. The further we get away from April, 1985 the more doubts are expressed about where we should begin. Some think we should reform the political system and then the economy, others think the opposite, while still others, as you see, are convinced that the beginning of all the transformations should be "placed on the shoulders" of the peasant by giving him the land, and there are also those who say the same thing about the working class, and so forth. But that, as they say, is the way it is.

As concerns the question you asked, I should like to clarify what is meant by turning the land over to the peasants.

[Question] The letters that come to the editorial offices most frequently raise questions of leasing land and creating peasant farms.

[Ryzhkov] If that is the case then the question is even less comprehensible. Yes, we should like for these processes to begin as quickly as possible and proceed more actively. But leasing them and creation of peasant farms are a complex socioeconomic phenomenon that affects people's fundamental interests and significantly changes man's psychology, which requires time. Moreover, successful development of these processes is impossible without the corresponding legal, economic, and organizational conditions. And as of now we do not have them to the extent they are needed. I am not even speaking about the fact that in this matter we will not be able to get

by without a fight against inertia and routine thinking with respect to these forms of management. The society should perceive them as a normal, everyday phenomenon developing equally with all the other diversity of forms of ownership and management—kolkhoz [collective farm], sovkhoz [state farm], leasing, individual labor, and others. Would this have been possible even two to three years ago? I do not think so. Suffice it to say that all these years we have been taking a very convoluted path to leasing.

Now about the second part of the question—will the peasant take the land? This also requires clarification: Will all the peasants take it? I emphasize, all. I do not think all of them will. I cannot even say that the majority of the peasants will follow this path. And we are not even striving for this. This is strictly voluntary. Everything will depend on the conditions the state creates for it. If the people have the motivation it will work; if not, that will be the end of the idea itself.

Much was said about this at the recent all-union conference in the Kremlin. In some places people are again sitting around with their hands folded, waiting for everything to take care of itself. In certain regions, they say, this will take place sooner and in others, later and they are hoping that the land is a kind of choice bit from which nobody will allow themselves to be torn away. But the peasants are displaying justified caution in this matter today. And this is understandable. Various ways of achieving a sharp about-face in agriculture have been offered repeatedly in the country. And we all know what has come of them. Today we must work and work on helping people to overcome their distrust. The peasant must believe in the irreversibility of the processes of granting him the land and the right to manage it independently, but intelligently and professionally; not the way his grandfather did but on the basis of everything that makes labor truly productive and useful both for the master of the land and for the society as a whole. Everything should be directed toward this—the technical equipment of labor, material incentives, and the legal and economic protection of the farmers.

[Question] At the First Congress of People's Deputies you reported that the country's foreign debt amounted to R34 billion at the time and it was necessary to pay R12 billion in interest on credit. TRUD readers are confused: Why such high interest? Seven months have passed. What is happening with our debt today? Has it increased or decreased?

[Ryzhkov] I have to say frankly that I anticipated this question in order to use the answer to it, as it were, for my own purposes. The fact is that the problem of our drawing on foreign credit evokes the most varied kinds of assessments from all segments of the population. Therefore, allow me to take this occasion to express my understanding of the essence of this problem.

I shall begin with the fact that drawing on foreign credit is a normal constituent element of the system of economic interaction between any country and the work economy. And as such we have been using it in our foreign economic activity for a long time. But the Soviet Union began to draw on foreign credit most actively for the development of its economy somewhere around the beginning of the sixties. This was a natural process which reflected out country's ever greater inclusion in world economic ties. One can name many large domestic enterprises built on the basis of equipment purchased abroad under credit conditions.

In a word, we are in favor of an active credit policy in foreign economic activity, but not an indiscriminate one. It is fundamentally important for us now, perhaps more than ever before, to determine correctly the purposes for which credit is to be used. It is one thing to use it to build plants and factories which will for a long time to come be producing products the people need. In particular, this is the path we took when we accepted credit from the FRG, Italy, and a number of other countries and purchased equipment for more rapid arrangement of the production of food products and consumer goods which are in short supply. And it is quite a different thing when, as certain economists suggest, we go into debt to buy food and consumer goods. We eat and use up what we have bought, and then what?

And so I emphasize once again that drawing on foreign credit, if it is used rationally, can be a highly effective means of solving individual problems of economic development and is an established economic practice.

But, as with anything else, there must be moderation here. Here, as in everyday life, if you have not repaid your debt promptly no serious partner will ever do business with you again, or further cooperation with you will be under the outrageous kinds of conditions that in the practice of international relations actually mean partial forfeiture of not only the economic but also the political sovereignty of the country.

Understandably, we must not allow this to happen with the Soviet Union so that our children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren will literally have to pay for our mistakes. I have already spoken about this but I wish to repeat once again that the government is aware of the serious economic and political consequences of excessive hard currency indebtedness but, unfortunately, it continues to grow. Therefore it is with the greatest caution that we borrow money from abroad.

As for the aforementioned R12 billion, they included, in addition to the interest itself, the sums of the basic loan to be returned in 1989 to contribute to eliminating our indebtedness. All these payments taken together is called "service credit."

[Question] "I do not think you will ask Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov my question," the worker B. Kuzovkin from Yaroslavl writes the editors. "In the press there was a report that the

amount of economic aid the USSR renders to other countries amounts to about R12 billion. Is this expedient when we ourselves are in such a deep crisis?"

[Ryzhkov] I wish to note at the outset that that figure was for last year. The Supreme Soviet when approving the 1990 budget earmarked aid to foreign countries in the amount of R9.7 billion. As you can see, taking the country's situation into account, the amount of aid has decreased considerably.

What does our aid consist of now? Basically it consists of granting state credit and, as a rule, involves deliveries of machines and equipment and construction of enterprises. In return we receive both currency and goods. For example, at the present time up to 50 percent of the goods we receive from India are to repay previously granted credit.

Aid rendered to the less developed of the CEMA countries is special. So far it is granted in the form of better prices than the ones on the world market. But at the CEMA session held at the beginning of January we raised the question of switching in 1991 to world prices in wholesale trade and keeping accounts in freely convertible currency.

At the same time it must be admitted that up until recently not enough attention has been devoted to making sure that the credit is repaid and the commercial aspect of cooperation has been underestimated. Steps intended to increase its economic effectiveness are now being taken in this area.

[Question] The stocks of uninstalled equipment in the country are assessed in an amount of more than R5 billion. TRUD articles on this subject have evoked a great response. The letters contain the question: What is to be done? And how does one implement the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers as early as 1983 to the effect that responsibility for efficient utilization of currency is the personal responsibility of the ministers.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, this is an extremely crucial and neglected problem which will take many decades to resolve. It is our firm conviction that this is linked to the fact that we did not develop an effective economic mechanism that would motivate everyone, above all the enterprises, to resolve quickly and effectively a complex of issues related to the creation of new production capacities based on imported equipment. Incidentally, this is only the tip of the iceberg. The situation is the same with respect to domestic equipment. We are now actively engaged in the development of an economic mechanism that would make it possible to change the situation radically.

As concerns imported equipment in particular, it is to be purchased in ever greater quantities using the enterprises' own hard currency. As we know, changes which make it possible to take these steps have been made in foreign economic activity in recent years. The country now has registered 11,000 enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives that wish to enter the foreign market directly. In a word, the process has been started and we are already actually experiencing a growth of economic possibilities, especially in relations with capitalist countries. As concerns the CEMA countries, I shall return to the January session at which there was a detailed discussion of how to enliven business here as well. Of course the state does have and will have problems which must be resolved at the level of the branches and the republics. And we must reach a point where loan funds are used here. And you understand that this is quite different from import purchases with money allotted by the state as "gift" currency.

As concerns the responsibility of the ministers, their role is changing radically today. Nonetheless it is obvious that it is impossible to do without personal responsibility, especially in cases when the client ministries are using all possible methods of purchasing imported equipment without having installed that which was acquired previously, without having assimilated it, and without trained personnel, production areas, or resources.

In places where costly imported equipment is broken up and transformed into scrap metal, real people's control is needed. In this connection I shall express this idea: Perhaps the newspaper TRUD, which has an immense number of subscribers in our country, should think about starting a special column whose materials would regularly elucidate the situation with respect to the startup of the imported equipment that is coming to us currently from abroad, especially for enterprises of the light and food industries, thus revealing the particular parties who are to blame in the local areas. This could become a real aid in the matter of solving the problem of reducing stockpiles of uninstalled imported equipment in our country.

[Question] How does the government intend to fight against the growth of prices? Many readers agree with the position of the trade unions: It is necessary to "freeze" prices of the basic foodstuffs and a number of nonfood commodities while applying a strict taxation system on wage increases. The recently adopted decree on "freezing" prices was greeted with satisfaction. But still many industrial goods are not affected by it...

[Ryzhkov] I wish to recall at the outset: The decree adopted last November by the USSR Supreme Soviet does not speak about "freezing" but about strengthening state price control. Understandably, these are far from the same thing. At the same time one must say that public opinion on this issue is quite contradictory. On the one hand, on the pages of the press and the other mass media and at practically all levels of management demands are being made to "freeze," "halt," and "restrain" prices. On the other hand, we are hearing more and more persistent proposals to grant complete

freedom to any producer to set prices for his products. All are right in their way. But the solution should be optimal.

In this connection I shall repeat myself but still I shall say that, at the very beginning of the economic reform when the draft law on the state enterprise was just being formed, the government, taking into account public opinion and the recommendations of scholars and specialists, resolutely proceeded toward the first and perhaps the most fundamental step of the economic reform, which was intended to open the way to economic accountability, independence, and self-financing in the basic production unit. This was the goal: For each labor collective to be able to creatively take advantage of its enterprise's potential, to decide for itself how to improve and provide for social development and earn the money necessary for this. Is this a noble goal? In our view, yes. And we were right to count on the appropriate response from labor collectives.

But all this has frequently shown its extremely unattractive side. Today we see that many enterprises have taken the path of creating illusory well-being. Group egoism is manifesting itself more and more clearly, whereby earnings are increasing as a result of product price increases which are in no way justified. Excuse me for being so blunt but if one is to give a fundamental assessment one can say that many businessmen have not only done nothing against this but have even contributed to the development of negative phenomena and have begun to wheel and deal and indulge corrosive tendencies.

Recently I looked at the materials of the USSR State Committee for Prices on the verification of the group of light industry enterprises. From memory I can say that more than half of the increase in the output of items here was achieved through raising prices. There are impressive examples: At the Ryazan footwear factory the entire increase in output was provided as a result of this and in Poltava at the Poltavchanka factory the average price of items produced increased by a factor of 1.6.

Unfortunately, one could continue the list of cases like this. All this directly affects the interests of the workers and is causing serious concern among the population and, of course, the government. Antimonopoly laws are now being developed as is a complex of measures for creating a broad network of small- and medium-sized enterprises, which will contribute to the development of economic competition on the consumer market and discourage inflation of prices.

But allow me to ask why the trade unions, which by definition are supposed to guard the interests of all workers, seem to be standing on the sidelines with respect to these cases? Perhaps it would also be inexpedient for them to look for their place in the fight for the interests of the workers in this area. The labor collectives when considering the plans for product output should not allow inexpensive products to be removed from production, especially products for children and the elderly, and they should not provide for the well-being of some at the expense of the interests of others.

For its part the government has established a list of commodities in mass demand to which the previously established state retail prices will apply unchanged in 1990, and it has also limited the list of goods for which contractual prices can be established and the level of these prices. The list has been expanded and the state order has been increased for the production of light industry items sold at socially established low prices. The price control system is being expanded significantly. In 1989 price setting control organs adopted a decision to draw into the budget income more than R180 million in illegally acquired profit and fines for increasing prices. In a word, in order to prevent price increases we have to take advantage of administrative methods as well.

[Question] Many economists, unlike the majority of readers, think that any slowing of the economic reform is related to the fact that under pressure from the population they put aside the price reform. There are also other viewpoints. Taking into account the extraordinary urgency of the issue, I should like to know your opinion. Could you also tell us when the draft of the price reform will be presented for nationwide discussion?

[Ryzhkov] Undoubtedly, the price reform is one of the most important constituent parties—I would say the cornerstone—of the economic reform as a whole. And the effectiveness of the mechanism for market regulation of the economy and the efficiency of economic accountability in relations between enterprises and regions and the tax system will depend largely on how it is conducted.

During the past year we have significantly refined the concept of the economic reform and established stages of its implementation, having envisioned them in the government program. These stages are closely coordinated with the time periods for the introduction of new prices.

Now about why the price reform was postponed. First of all, it must be conducted comprehensively, that is, it is necessary to revise wholesale, procurement, and retail prices. Because of a number of factors and above all because of the difficult financial situation, the lack of balance in monetary circulation, and the lack of a profoundly developed methodology and new approaches to price setting problems, we were not prepared for it either the year before last or last year. Currently, we are conducting a careful analysis of previously developed wholesale prices, taking into account the growth of wages and social security deductions and the proposed increase in interest on credit, and we have made the necessary adjustments in these prices. In December 1989 the USSR Council of Ministers earmarked the areas for revision of procurement prices and it is now intensively developing these plans. All the preparatory work for revising wholesale and procurement prices should be completed in the first half of 1990 and they should be put into effect in the beginning of 1991.

As concerns retail prices, here the situation is much more complicated. It is necessary to figure out not only the new prices but also the specific amounts and forms of compensation to the population for raising them. The latter is not only an economic problem but is also critically sociopolitical in nature since it affects the interests of various social segments of the population, union republics, and regions. As of today this problem has not been fully solved and requires further development. For the time being I can say that the government has instructed the central economic organs to refine previously developed proposals for a retail price reform. I wish to emphasize once again that, in keeping with the decisions of the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the draft retail price reform will be presented for nationwide discussion this year.

[Question] What is your attitude toward the cooperatives which are causing so many bitter battles? This question was asked in a number of letters...

[Ryzhkov] If we are to speak about basics, my attitude toward cooperation was defined in the government program for improving the economy. In the new model of the economic system which we shall approach as a result of the development of the economic reform, one of the decisive elements will be the diversity of forms of ownership and their equal rights and competition. Cooperation should occupy a worthy place here too.

As concerns the battles about the cooperatives, they are brought about by certain negative phenomena that have appeared in the cooperative movement. Would it have been possible to avoid them. Obviously, it would have. But the main thing was that for us this was practically a new thing; past experience has already been forgotten. When developing measures directed toward restoration of the cooperative movement we paid attention to the fact that in many countries its extensive development not only does not cause social tension but makes it possible to satisfy the population's needs for goods and services more fully. But we did not sufficiently take into account the fact that when creating a new form of management with broad rights under conditions of an unbalanced market, we could restore remnants of self-seeking. I have also had occasion to speak about the fact that the future of the cooperative movement depends largely on how healthy foundations develop within it and what its authority in the society will be. Now this authority, as they say, is very severely eroded. And this was done largely by the cooperators themselves, which evoked the negative reaction among the population against a movement that is essentially so progressive.

The experience accumulated in the cooperative movement makes it possible to determine the measures necessary for regulation of the activity of its local units. The government is developing the corresponding proposals and they will be presented at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Here we are proceeding from the idea that we must gradually form really equal economic rights of various forms of ownership whereby the differences in incomes received for labor will be determined only by its effectiveness.

[Question] In the letters devoted to social problems there are many questions about housing. "The newspapers reported that last year the arrears in implementing the housing program have continued to grow," writes B. Barkov from Omsk to the editors. "Therefore I wish to ask whether the program Housing-2000 will be fulfilled. In which direction will the program be adjusted?"

[Ryzhkov] I shall begin with the fact that Comrade Barkov has not stated the question quite correctly. There are no arrears in implementing the housing program. Moreover, in four years we have exceeded by 11 million square meters the assignments for the introduction of housing envisioned by the plan. But this occurred as a result of overfulfillment of the plans during the first three years of the Five-Year Plan, and last year the rates of construction of housing did indeed slow and its introduction decreased by more than four million square meters as compared to 1988.

The main reason for the arrears allowed last year in housing construction were the slowness of the councils of ministers of the union republics and the ispolkoms [executive committees] of the local soviets of people's deputies in solving the problems turned over to them, having to do with increasing the production of construction materials and increasing the effectiveness of the activity of construction organizations. The plan was dealt with worst of all by the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Azerbaijan SSR, the Tajik SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and also Moscow. In the republics and regions where the necessary organizational work was done promptly, the startup of housing exceeded the planned assignments last year. The main thing now is to bring up the republics in which there were arrears in the introduction of housing last year. To organize this work properly is the obligation of the governments of the union republics and local authorities to their residents. If one is to speak about the Housing-2000 program as a whole, its implementation also depends primarily on smoothly arranged work in the local areas.

Now the second part of the question—about the possible areas for adjusting this program. Intended for a long period of time, it includes many parameters for which more than one factor is taken into account when each is determined. Therefore refining individual provisions is inevitable.

At the present time the union republics are working to refine regional housing programs. This was brought about primarily by the fact that in 1989 an all-union census was conducted which reflected many sociodemographic characteristics completely and precisely: The structure of the families in terms of number of members and composition and the nature of the housing they occupy. Taking this into account the structure of the new housing is being refined in terms of the number of rooms

in an apartment and, consequently, the volumes of housing construction up to the year 2000 and the rates of development of the construction industry base are also being adjusted. Calculations done by the republics will be generalized by the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission] and the USSR Gosstroy [State Construction Committee] and the data that are obtained will be used as a basis for projections for the 13th and then the 14th Five-Year Plan. I can say that the preliminary calculations already show that under the forthcoming five-year plan it will be necessary to achieve an essential increase in the volumes of housing construction as compared to that which was earmarked in the program.

[Question] The draft law "On the Rights of Trade Unions of the USSR" envisions the right to a kind of trade union "veto" of management decisions that affect the vital interests of the workers. As a USSR people's deputy and trade union member, will you vote for this right?

[Ryzhkov] The question could be put somewhat differently. It seems to me that we are speaking about decisions that encroach on the vital interests of the workers. If this is so, then I hold a firm position regarding this—nobody has the right to make such decisions. And here it is not a matter of granting the "veto" right to trade unions but of legislatively restricting the workers from any kind of claims to control things in the state, branch, or region regarding their interests. As concerns the trade unions and their rights here, they now have every opportunity to participate actively in the development of decisions in all stages, including at meetings of the USSR Council of Ministers. If they do not agree they can appeal, for example, to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Granting them the right to a "veto" will actually lead to the formation of a system of multiple authority which, as a rule, ends up as no authority and difficult consequences for the entire economy.

[Question] You have a rich biography. You have worked in production and been a business leader and an administrator. Have you ever been in conflict with the trade unions? And did this disturb you deeply?

The answer to that question depends on what you mean by conflict. For if you take, for example, the situation which was considered a conflict during those years when I worked as general director of Uralmash, today it might quite justifiably be called a tempest in a teapot. It cannot compare with previous disputes between the administration and trade unions, for example, the one generated by the strike movement.

Now to the essence of the question—neither at the plant nor subsequently, here, working n Moscow, have I had any conflicts with the trade unions. On the contrary, when in charge of the remarkable collective of Uralmash I actively cooperated with the trade union committee, especially in the implementation of the program for social development. Of course we did not manage to solve everything, but together with the trade union we did manage to accomplish a great deal. There were also arguments, but no serious conflicts. Incidentally, at that time the trade unions were different: As you know, along with the administration they handled many production problems and social issues. In this respect we had a common language with them: Ultimately in solving problems of social development everyone's interests are the same in principle.

[Question] But, Nikolay Ivanovich, apparently this is not quite right. The trade unions, for example, express sharp disagreement with the decree adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet at the suggestion of the government "On taxing the wage fund of state enterprises (associations)." Does the Council of Ministers intend to take any measures to relieve the tension that has arisen in connection with this decree in the labor collectives?

[Ryzhkov] I would not want to make the generalization that this caused tension in all labor collectives. This reaction occurred only in places where group interests were strong and they did not take into account the main requirement necessary for normal functioning of any enterprise—wages should increase as productivity increases. In a word, there is an element of subjectivity in all of this. But for the sake of objectivity one must say that a number of enterprises and organizations always have high growth rates of production. For example, in the electronics industry. In this case such a principle of taxation would be an impediment. Therefore the government has been given the right to perform the necessary regulatory functions. And we must take advantage of this right.

And so we took the very strict step mentioned in the question you raised. But what could we do? The rapid growth of monetary incomes that is not backed up by an increase in commodity mass leads to severe inflation. It is by no means in the interests of our citizens.

As has already been mentioned, today we have R165 billion in "hot" money with no commodities to cover it. Elimination of this disproportion is the key to financial improvement of the economy. The paths are known; I mentioned them in my report to the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. But this is a program, as it were, for more than a day. This is why it was decided to introduce temporary—for 15 months—restrictions on the growth of monetary incomes.

Here it is necessary to take into account that, in the first place, the taxation does not apply to the growth of income from increasing production of consumer goods and the volumes of services rendered to the population. In the second place, a growth of the wage fund up to three percent is not taxed at all. And only above that does the corresponding scale go into effect. To this one must add the fact that this year there is to be an increase of monetary incomes of seven percent, including wages—five percent. So we are not speaking of any deep "freeze."

I have already said it repeatedly and shall repeat it again—let every labor collective earn as much as it

wishes but under one condition: The ruble that is received must be of full value and there must be commodities behind it. For "empty" rubles also devalue both those that are already in the people's hands and those they are to receive for their labor.

[Question] And, finally, the last question—about Soviet trade unions. There are now more than 60 million people in them. This in itself shows the immense potential of the trade union movement. But, as many readers write, this potential is still being poorly utilized. In particular they speak about the fact that the trade unions must more rapidly determine their worthy position in our life. Frequently they are "shy" when protecting the interests of the working man. What is your viewpoint? How do you assess the interrelations between the government and the trade unions in this stage of perestroyka?

[Ryzhkov] What was unthinkable even yesterday is typical of modern life—the dynamism, the sharp change of sympathies and antipathies, the retardation of certain social movements and the rapid development of others. All these are the realities of perestroyka and it is no wonder that the role of the trade unions is one of those that is evoking heated discussion today. In my view this is not at all bad. For a long time out trade unions remained in the shadows and their actual voice was poorly heard. In general it is difficult to reproach them for this: Like the rest of the society, they were also in stagnation. Now we can see that the image of the trade unions is greatly changing: Their voice is getting through and their opinion is being heard. And I would not say that these trade unions conduct themselves so timidly, so "shyly" now. On the whole this is undoubtedly a positive phenomenon. Although if one is to speak about their influence and authority in the labor environment, in my opinion, some serious problems will have to be solved here.

As concerns relations between the government and the trade unions, with respect to a number of issues our positions diverge considerably. But I do not see anything unnatural in that. We are doing complicated work on concrete problems and everyone can have his own viewpoint and defend it. And although it is much more difficult for the government to work under these conditions, we are proceeding from the idea that these are the only principles that are productive in the search for the truth.

The USSR Council of Ministers makes many decisions taking into account the suggestions of the trade unions. But I shall say directly that certain demands, even serious ones, unfortunately, cannot be satisfied yet. And it is not a matter of any caution or safety measures for which we are frequently reproached but that the government more than any other state or social institution must be realistic and proceed from what is actually possible, that which we are capable of, especially now during this extremely difficult period of the country's development. For a society with an economy that is suffering from serious illnesses it is of extreme importance for none of the sides that are making demands and suggesting various variants for solving problems not to abuse "power" pressure, thus whether they like it or not contributing to destabilization which is dangerous for everyone. The government hopes that such a powerful force as the trade unions will be its permanent partner and ally in the main thing—creative work in common interests.

Abalkin Shows Support for Tough Economic Steps

PM2501105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman L. Abalkin "Government's Reply" to an industrialist's letter: "Unpopular But Necessary Measures"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed editorial board!

This year's first issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK publishes the thoughts of Academician L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In particular, he expresses the idea that "determination and firmness are needed in implementing the line that has been elaborated. This is the demand of society, the demand of the people's masses. One must not act in a spineless way and be afraid to bawl out irresponsible economic managers and leaders of regional bodies and put them in their place and break the back of the mafia and organized crime in the economic sphere."

In principle, while agreeing that the situation really must be regulated, I cannot help being disturbed when I read: "bawl out," "put them in their place," "break the back." If we are talking about democracy, terms like these, used by a senior leader and authoritative academic, make one feel somewhat uneasy. In view of this, I ask IZVESTIYA to grant me the opportunity to address the following letter to L.I. Abalkin. [passage omitted]

[Abalkin's reply begins] Esteemed Anatoliy Vasilyevich! Your letter raises questions connected with the government's program for restoring the economy's health, questions that worry many people. One must admit that public opinion has not yet appreciated either the intention behind this program or the practical steps to implement it. Nor has it appreciated the link between the projected measures and the evaluation of the current situation in the economy.

Therefore I will begin my reply by explaining certain general questions. The logic of economic reform and its strategy are based on scientific studies and the historic choice made by our country. As for specific measures and tactics, they are largely dictated by the prevailing situation. Such measures are of a temporary nature, of course, and will be adjusted as the circumstances change.

The reality is that it is has not been possible so far to halt the growth of negative trends. The market is in a state of

imbalance. There has been a considerable deterioration in the state of the money supply and finances. The population is particularly upset by empty or half-empty shelves. In order to stop the situation deteriorating further and eliminate the negative trends, one needs to be absolutely clear about what caused this situation. Unfortunately, the mass perception of this lacks clarity.

I will dwell on the principal elements by analyzing last year's results. Monetary incomes, which shape consumer demand, increased by 13 percent in 1989. The wage funds increased at the same rate. You do not have to be an expert to see that production cannot keep up. Therefore, increasing shortages, speculation, and other phenomena are inevitable in such a situation.

One could, of course, balance the market by raising prices significantly. But that would be unacceptable for social reasons. A state which considers itself socialist must protect the population, above all the badly-off strata—pensioners, people with low pay, and large families. Nor should one forget that the incomes of 40 million Soviet citizens are below subsistence level.

Now let us look at the second aspect—supply. Last year consumer goods production in industry (group "B") increased by 4.5 percent, while retail trade turnover increased by as much as 10.2 percent (8.1 percent in comparable prices). Pretty good indicators, seemingly. But they fall substantially short of the growth of monetary incomes and, therefore, they did not and cannot lead to an improvement in the consumer market. It is important to stress that the growth of pay was not linked to actual production results. For instance, while industrial prouction increased by only 1.7 percent, the industrial wage fund increased by 7.5 percent.

The situation is similar in the production sphere. There is a vast unsatisfiued demand for resources. And not only because resources are scarce. Once again, this is mainly due to the fact that enterprises (and they typify real demand) have too much money. Enterprises currently have around R100 billion in various funds and this is putting pressure on the market in the means of production and distorting it.

This is causing supply hiccups, irregular deliveries, and the relatively new phenomenon of extortion. When an enterprise wants to acquire something, people demand not only money. Few people are interested in money per se. In exchange for supplies they are demanding scarce articles, consumer products or other goods. Who is doing this? Certainly not the representatives of the shadow economy. It is being done by economic managers in charge of very specific enterprises, occupying a particular position, and possessing real names.

In the past it was possible to avoid such phenomena by using methods typical of the administrative edict system. It has been ruthlessly criticized and largely destroyed. In any case, few people heed commands today and even fewer carry them out. The reform offers a solution—replacing administrative methods with economic methods.

Their action will be unavoidable (you cannot do a deal with them, in the way that you can with bosses) and in a sense they will be even tougher. The whole world knows this. Tough and unavoidable economic levers operate in all countries with highly efficient economies and developed markets. This is not an "economic cudgel," which you mention in your letter. But they are powerful and significant regulators. They include a tax system, interest on credit, anti-inflation methods, and various sanctions. At the same time, although they are tough, they are not prescriptive and are not specifically targeted, but allow freedom to maneuver. They are general rules of conduct, which everyone must observe.

The new methods can bring success only if existing discrepancies are eliminated and the market is stabilized. One must not forget what history has demonstrated: An unprofitable economy cannot be effective. The one thing that should be in short supply is money. It is not a shortage, however, but an incentive to work. And, at the same time, it shows the economy addressing the consumer and his needs, addressing those who place orders and pay money.

And another thing. It must be realized once and for all that the state and its executive bodies do not create anything—either material benefits or income. They can only influence their growth and regulate redistribution. Before implementing major programs you have to have the resources. We are talking about social and ecological programs of national importance, about financing basic research, and about allocating the resources that medicine, education, and culture so badly need. But the state can only provide exactly as many resources as it collects through taxes and other payments from enterprises, associations, and other economic components. Unless, of course, one resorts to printing extra money. But we know what happens then, not only from books, but from the bitter experience of past years.

Now for the specific questions raised in your letter. Taxing wage fund growth is an emergency measure, a temporary measure, in fact, for a period of 15 months. It is a fundamentally important fact that this tax is being levied not on the increase in the average wage and not on the increase on the individual worker's pay, but only on the overall wage fund. And only an increase in excess of three percent is taxed. You write in your letter that no one will earn R4, only to receive R1. Excuse me, but this is a far-fetched ratio. In the first place, an individual worker's pay can increase without being taxed much more quickly if the numerical strength is reduced. Second, if one takes numerical strength as a constant quantity, the ratio will then be different.

Average pay today is R240. A 3-percent increase would mean an extra R7.2. This kind of increase is not taxed. But if you increase pay by, for instance, R9, you have to

impose a tax of R1.8. As you can see, quite different ratios. Of course, if pay rises even faster, the tax will increase accordingly.

I will explain yet another important element. It is not the increase in the wage fund that is taxed, but the increase in actual payments from this fund. An enterprise can accumulate funds and no one will take them away. But if it makes actual payments this year, it will have to be taxed on any excess increase.

I also mention this in view of the fact that you believe that the introduction of this tax will curb the growth of profits resulting from an increase in the production volume. Taxing a wage fund increase will not hamper this at all. Nor will it inhibit the formation of enterprise funds intended for production improvements and the solution of sociocultural tasks that are not associated with cash payments.

Finally, one must not forget about the system of benefits, chief among which is total exemption from the payment of tax on any increase in the wage fund as a result of the production of extra consumer goods or agricultural products or the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities. This is a very powerful incentive to the expansion of their production and, accordingly, to the saturation of the consumer market. It is also an economic lever for the implementation of one of the fundamental tenets of the government program, namely—the social reorientation of economic growth.

Now, the extra social security charges. It is a deliberate measure that has been taken publicly. The funds that are obtained as a result of this will be used for a precise purpose—providing financial resources to increase pensions this very year. It is a noble, humane measure. But it can only be carried out if an extra source of financial resources is created.

Now we come to the increased payment for labor resources in relation to managerial staff. 'Anatoliy Vasilyevich, you are perfectly well aware of the way we tried to solve this problem before, that is, through administrative orders to reduce managerial staffs. The measure was universally condemned and did not bear fruit. You will also know about the criticism of the growing and ballooning management apparatus. Moreover, nowadays it is increasing not at the top level, but at enterprises and associations and in other newly formed managerial structures.

How do you regulate this process? Let it take its course or impose administrative bans again? We are in the business of reform and must rely on economic methods. Indeed, one has to pay more for managerial personnel than, say, for production workers. Just think, just consider how many are needed, whether the interests of increasing production efficiency warrant an increase in their numbers. And if their activities contribute to production rationalization and improved efficiency, then the increase thus obtained will be sufficient both for the introduction of a higher payment for labor resources and for the solution of the labor collective's internal tasks.

The increased rates for freight shipments are meant to create a normal, nonbudget source of finance for the development of railroad transport. They will be used primarily to acquire rolling stock and improve track facilities. The need for this is pretty obvious, I trust.

You have a similar situation with diesel fuel prices, which one could hardly have described as valid. Increased prices not only bring in extra financial resources, but also encourage economy and are a lever that makes people seek rational solutions. The consumer enterprise is starting to feel the effect of market shortages and is beginning to realize that it has to pay for this. This is one of the first lessons of the market. And it must be well learned if we intend to make serious progress toward a socialist market and the economic accountability that it implies.

Finally, the tough measures. The government is being criticized, and rightly so, for indecision in the struggle against corruption, economic crimes, and mafia groupings. One cannot rely here on the force of economic sanctions or on persuasion. When you come across a criminal, you do not coax him, in the way that the cook coaxed the cat, but you follow the fable writer's advice and wield your authority. Of course, I would not equate with these actions the behavior of many leaders who are guilty of irresponsibility. What specifically do I mean? In the situation that exists in the national economy, and above all, as I have said, on the consumer market, the complete and unconditional implementation of state targets, primarily state orders, must be carried out unswervingly. What is needed here is not rallies, not coaxing, but precise organization and clear-cut public priorities.

Or take the following question. At the moment a number of oblasts and union republics are failing to implement pledges on deliveries of meat and other foodstuffs under the terms of interrepublican and interoblast exchange. Yet there is specialization in the national economy; some are producing machinery and equipment and extracting oil and coal, others are more involved in developing their agrarian sector. Specialization presupposes exchange and it, in turn, presupposes contracts and commitments. Fully implement the state targets and keep the rest for yourself. This is essentially a version of Lenin's tax in kind concept.

But oblasts and republics are not implementing targets and are not bearing any responsibility for this. Estonia is not fully implementing its pledges on meat deliveries to Leningrad; the same goes for Krasnodar Kray to Sverdlovsk Oblast and Tataria to Tyumen Oblast. Yet the latter sometimes lack meat even for children. Is one to tolerate this without taking any steps? Why do the soviets have executive authority in the first place?

It was actions such as these that I was vigorously opposing in my article, to which you refer in your letter. It is important to understand now, understand deep down, the extraordinary situation we are in and the need for extraordinary measures. Radical, resolute measures, but measures that fit into the general pattern of perestroyka, the general logic of the switch to economic methods of regulation.

Anatoliy Vasilyevich, I liked the part of your letter where you say that you are not admitting impotence and confusion, but are seeking solutions to the problems. I wish you and the production association's labor collective success in this difficult work.

Stroyev: More Co-Ops Needed in Rural Areas

WA2901202090 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by E. Krasnyanskiy: "Pay Back Debt to Peasant!"]

[Text] On 12 January, a meeting of the Tsentrosoyuz [USSR Central Union of Consumer Societies] was held. Its participants discussed the work of the union and the future tasks of our country's consumer cooperatives in conjunction with the measures undertaken in order to reinvigorate the economy and enhance the economic reform as adopted by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Currently, consumer cooperatives are facing considerable difficulties, just as other sectors of our national economy. As P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz board, noted in his report at the meeting, an extremely strained financial situation has emerged. It is primarily this situation that jeopardizes most seriously the further development of the consumer cooperatives. In particular, there is a great shortage of shops, canteens, procurement and processing enterprises in rural areas. Considerably more of them should be built, and built better than has been the case thus far. However, there are not enough funds for this. This is despite the fact that last year the employees of cooperatives did not perform poorly on the whole: They increased retail sales by nine percent, the volume of procurement of farm products at agreed-upon prices by eight percent, and the output of goods by 12 percent.

The system is still having trouble liberating itself from administrative-command management methods and the most cruel pressure by the USSR Ministry of Finance which currently leaves the consumer cooperatives virtually no funds required for their development. Suffice it to say that the overall profit margin of cooperative commerce amounts to merely 1.9 percent, and in many consumer societies it does not exceed even one percent. This is what the chairmen of the boards of the Russian and Ukrainian Unions of Consumer Societies V.F. Yermakov and S.V. Litvinenko and other members of the council referred to with concern and pain at the meeting.

A group of USSR people's deputies submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers a package of proposals for taking urgent measures aimed at emancipating the consumer cooperatives. The cooperative organizations expect the government to resolve as soon as possible issues such as revising commercial allowances, putting in order existing taxation practices, and other issues. A very significant social problem underlies all of this—paying back to the rural areas and the peasantry the debts that have accumulated over many decades. After all, the consumer cooperatives are essentially the most receptive to the needs of the rural areas, work together with them, and suffer from the same ills. This is why by helping the cooperatives at a difficult time the state ultimately helps the rural areas in general.

At the same time, while raising key issues transcending their own jurisdiction, the cooperative officials were very reluctant to consider hidden forces in the course of the discussions and to analyze the development opportunities which are concealed within the system. Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Ye.S. Stroyev, who spoke at the meeting, pointed this out to the participants in the meeting. He stressed that the current year is the foundation for all reforms in the 13th Five-Year Plan. It is exactly from this point of view that we need to consider the operation of the consumer cooperatives at present and in the future. The cooperatives themselves owe much to the members, the peasants. The Tsentrosoyuz did not fulfill the plan for retail sales for the four years of the Five-Year Plan, and the rural population was deprived of an opportunity to purchase goods worth many billions of rubles despite the availability of considerable reserves.

The issue of improving retail trade services in small and remote villages is as acute as ever. Currently, more than 97,000 of them, or 35 percent, have no shops; 8,000 farms do not have public catering facilities; in many rural schools there are no cafeterias. The supply of bread, vegetable oil, and other foodstuffs to the inhabitants of villages is not properly organized. Hence their constant trips to the cities, the waste of time and money.

The inhabitants of rural areas are particularly concerned by the fact that the consumer cooperatives, having withstood all reorganizations, in recent years have rushed to the rescue of urban commerce. They have been setting up shops, markets, and storage facilities in the cities having forgotten about the needs of remote areas, though it is exactly there that the need to build such facilities is extremely urgent.

This situation is primarily due to the absence of a close alliance between cooperative functionaries and kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and rural soviets in the field. At the same time, it is clear that only harmonious, coordinated, joint work may help solve many acute and urgent problems in rural areas.

Let us look at, for example, the procurement of farm goods. There are 34 million personal auxiliary plots in

our country and 18 million gardening plots. In the last three years alone, their number has increased considerably. However, the volume of vegetables, fruits, and berries procured has not increased. Tens of thousands of tons of such products perish annually. Meanwhile, the state is forced to purchase them in Poland, Hungary, and other countries.

As Ye.S. Stroyev noted, the key element in resolving this issue should be found in setting up comprehensive procurement and processing enterprises in all the central villages of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and switching to the self-supply of foodstuffs in rayons on this basis. Instructive experience in this matter has been accumulated in the Omsk, Krasnodar, Moscow, Leningrad, Voronezh, Moldavia, and other unions of consumer societies. However, it has not yet been tapped by all cooperative organizations.

Comprehensive development of the processing industry is another important avenue for the activities of cooperatives. At present, this is the weakest link in the operation of the consumer cooperatives. This is why the main task of the cooperatives should be to create in each rural rayon a cooperative foodstuffs-producing complex with a view to the rural population being able to buy locally fresh baked goods, gingerbread, cakes, ice cream, sausages, smoked meats, fruits and vegetables, and other goods which may and should be manufactured where they are consumed. Considerable experience has been accumulated in this matter. In Russia alone, about 2,500 plants producing foodstuffs and more than 1,000 procurement facilities of agricultural cooperatives were opened last year in the central villages of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This means that cooperatives can develop once they set a clear-cut goal for themselves.

The capacity for processing cattle is falling perceptibly behind the opportunities to expand the procurement of cattle from the populace. Over the last 20 years, 1,200 cattle slaughterhouses have been built while during the same period of time three times as many have been decommissioned. It is clearly abnormal that in, for example, the Gorkiy Union of Consumer Societies there are only 10 slaughterhouses in 47 rayons, and in 1989 not one slaughterhouse was commissioned there. In the Kirov Society, there are 13 facilities in 39 rayons, and last year not one was commissioned either. These facilities are very few in Ulyanovsk, Bashkir, Lipetsk, Irkutsk, and other consumer societies. Central Asia also lags behind on this score.

The development of the procurement and processing complex of the consumer cooperatives, said Ye.S. Stroyev, is greatly hampered by the shortage of various technical machinery. The Tsentrosoyuz has respectable machine-building facilities. Its 27 specialized plants produce R270 million worth of equipment and small mechanical devices, or one-half of all machinery that the organization is allocated annually. However, the Ukrainian Consumer Union which accounts for one-fifth of cooperative commerce in the country is responsible for one-third of the equipment produced within the organization whereas the Georgian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Tajik, Azeri, Armenian, and Turkmen Consumer Unions do not engage in producing equipment at all.

As all-union conferences held last year by the CPSU Central Committee in Kharkov, Belgorod, and Voronezh showed, placing orders for the processing equipment in short supply at state machine-building enterprises by virtue of direct contracts with them may be very efficient in saturating the Tsentrosoyuz with such equipment.

However, the equipment shortage is not the only factor hampering the development of procurement and processing enterprises of the consumer cooperatives. In many cases, the lack of responsibility for the use of smoking chambers, freezers for ice cream, and dough kneaders is apparent rather than the shortage of them. For example, last year the Sverdlovsk Consumer Union received five sets of equipment for sausage plants, five electric smoke cabinets, 24 bakery cabinets, and other equipment which would have been sufficient in order to set up 23 plants for producing foodstuffs. However, only one such plant was commissioned in the entire oblast. Why? Much depends on the persistence shown in the course of installing and mastering the equipment, on looking for reserves in every specific situation and at every work station.

Now that the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies has entrusted the government with working out a program for the development of rural areas, primarily a program for resolving social issues, the consumer cooperatives should vigorously join in the implementation of the program, avoid the position of a detached observer, and render special assistance to the inhabitants of rural areas in building their own housing. The farms assume the burden of funding a considerable share of the outlay in this endeavor. The task of cooperative organizations is to arrange the sale of required amounts of construction materials, acceierate the creation of a chain of warehouse-shops for selling them, and set up construction cooperatives more vigorously with a view to rural developers being able to erect comfortable housing with amenities for themselves quickly and without delays. Thus far, construction materials worth R27 per inhabitant of rural areas a year have been sold. What can they build with this? At the same time, the issues of social amenities in rural areas are central to our entire agrarian policy.

Shackled Cooperatives Fight To Survive

PM2501142790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[M. Berger article under rubric "Details and Comments": "Flourishing on Brink of Liquidation"]

[Text] Some preliminary results of the development of the cooperative movement in our country since the Law

"On the Cooperative System in the USSR" came into force have been summed up.

I do not know whether this was to be expected or not, but according to the results of the past 2 years, and 1989 in particular, the so-called new cooperatives have proved the most dynamic and successful sector of our national economy. The number of cooperatives increased on average by 50 percent every 3 months, and by October of last year (later figures are not available) it topped 171,000 with a work force in excess of 4 million people. The volume of output sales, or as statisticians in market economies refer to it—the sales volume—totaled almost R26 billion.

During the first year after the adoption of the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" alone, the number of cooperatives more than quadrupled and sales volumes rose sharply. It is expected that last year's results will show that the sales volume has increased six-fold in comparison with 1988. This means that it is already possible to speak of the appreciable impact of this sector on the economy as a whole, since its share of the total—which did not exceed 1 percent of the Gross National Product in 1988—will, according to estimates of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, reach 5-6 percent this year.

It is obvious that the boom in the cooperative sector is partly to be explained by the fact that the point of depatures lies somewhere near zero, and also by a certain protectionism on the part of the local authorities which inevitably accompanies any new venture. The cooperatives were no exception in this respect, and things even reached the stage of certain cooperatives being organized under the auspices of party rayon committees, as IZVESTIYA reported at the time. However, very soon the attitude to the new cooperatives changed so abruptly that hostility toward them both on the part of noncooperative members and the authorities began to almost outpace the spread of the cooperatives themselves. The only thing that can be said on this subject is that the steps which are being taken, whether their authors want it or not, are likely not so much to rid the cooperative system of its distortions as to rid the country of the cooperatives.

It is true that the new sector of the economy is beset with a multitude of shortcomings, but you get the impression that people think there is only one way to combat these shortcomings, and that is to get rid of the cooperatives themselves. It is like saying that the best way to cure an illness is to kill the patient. Many people will remember that the USSR Supreme Soviet fell only a few votes short of being able to abolish all the selling and buying cooperatives outright.

It is interesting to note that one of the people's deputies, who has gained a reputation as an advocate of the administrative system and who is convinced that the cooperatives only serve "to ruin people," declared in the same speech that in the past merchants managed to supply the country with all the necessary products and goods. It would be interesting to know whether he understood when he was extolling the merchants that the merchant in the Russian economy had precisely the function and role of a buying and selling cooperative, that is, the kind of cooperative that is so unpopular among a substantial section of the population and a substantial section of people's deputies.

True, cooperative prices are no cause for enthusiasm, although not everything is clear cut in this sphere either. True, cooperative shoes may prove of lower quality than state-produced shoes, especially if the state they were produced by is not ours, but is this sufficient reason to abolish them? For some reason people do not stage rallies to demand the closure of factories which produce substandard footwear and inordinately expensive furniture. Nor does anyone walk around with banners demanding that a loss-making production unit be closed down, although it is also fleecing people—and "more efficiently" than cooperative members. If you want to, you can buy something from a cooperative, and if you don't want to, you don't have to. Yet enterprise losses running into billions have to be paid for by all of us equally, through the budget, irrespective of whether we want it or not.

What is the origin of this truly filial love for and devotion to the state sector, which people are willing to forgive all? After all, management models, unlike parents, can be selected. And in general, people exercise this right...

The key principles regulating the activity of cooperatives have been changed five or six times, beginning with taxation and ending with constantly lengthening lists of bans and restrictions on specific types of activity. (If there is one thing that is always booming in our economy, irrespective of recessions and crises, it is bans and restrictions. It is a pity they cannot be sold in shops—the shelves would be laden...)

This nervous attitude toward cooperatives at the center and at local level leads to constant changes and "clarifications" of the conditions under which they operate, implemented almost always in a rush "to establish order," and what is more it is always done at such breakneck speed that no one heeds such trifles as infringements of the law, for instance. And indeed, what is the law when compared with order?.. MOSCOW NEWS reports in its no. 3 issue that in various parts of the country there are now some 800 legally enforceable departmental and local authority enactments which are at variance with the Law on the Cooperative system. This, apart from all else, strengthens the position of the apparatus and the administrative-edict system 100-fold. It provides many, many more opportunities for humble entreaties to the authorities, pleading with them so that, like a father, they take the situation in hand, make an exception, and lift a restriction which they themselves have imposed.

It is not even necessary to adopt something that is "at variance." It is enough to extend an existing regulation, a list of banned activities, for instance. Thus the Uzbek Supreme Soviet included on this list all types of buying and selling cooperatives, including public catering cooperatives which have no units of their own for raising livestock and poultry (down with the division of labor, specialization, and mankind's other "useless" inventions!), cooperatives offering assistance in the organization of foreign trips, repairing household radio and electrical equipment, engaging in design and scientific and research activity, and also (here comes a truly piratic activity) operating various consultation centers to implement the economic reform, introduce economic accountability, and so forth.

The latter is particularly amazing. Is it to be assumed that everything is absolutely clear as regards reform and economic accountability, or that the demand for consultation services in this sphere has been fully satisfied? How else is such a ban to be explained?

And so the current successes of the cooperatives can only be described as amazing. But for how long will they be able to stand their ground and develop at the same time? And if they fail, who will play the role of the universal "scapegoat" in the future? Will it be lessees? Or joint ventures?

Government-Owned Firms Sidestep Tax Decision

LD2901131490 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Ministry of Finance has admitted that the government-owned enterprises and cooperatives are conducting a cold war with the government, which has suggested limiting the growth of wages for 15 months. In order to combat inflation in this country a bigger tax was placed, since October of last year, on those enterprises and cooperatives where the growth of wages exceeds 3 percent. However, in the middle of January, when the payment of taxes began, it became clear that the measure does not work. In the opinion of the Ministry of Finances, the government enterprises and cooperatives have worked out a system of measures to neutralize the tax decision.

AUCCTU Protests Government Price Hikes

WA2601201590 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by TRUD political columnist V. Golovachev, including statement by S.A. Arzhavkin, head of the AUCCTU department on questions concerning the protection of workers' economic rights and interests: "Not At the Expense of the Workers!"]

[Text] **The AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] sent a letter to the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the increase in prices and rates for transport, energy, and fuel.**

The government's decision to increase prices for diesel fuel and rates for freight shipments, starting on 1 January, and also for electric power for industries and a number of other consumers, has led to a serious aggravation of the situation in many work collectives. More and more delegations of enterprises are arriving at the AUCCTU, and at central committees and trade union councils, and numerous letters and telegrams are coming in with resolute protests against this decision, which acutely worsens the economic position of the workers and violates the very important principles of social justice.

This was talked about with indignation by emissaries who came to the AUCCTU from the Donetsk and the Yenakievo metallurgical plants, the Mariupol metallurgical combine "Azovstal," and others. The mountain of telegrams is growing—from collectives of the Archangel cellulose-paper combine, the "Sakhalinlesprom" association, and the Ufa timber combine of the "Bashlesprom" association; and from energy producers and enterprises of the chemical industry... why, the question is asked with reason, must there be a lowering of the living standard of the working class, which constitutes the backbone of our industry?

Actually, prices for end products remain as before, but expenditures for transport, fuel, and energy have increased noticeably. What does this mean? It is clear even to a nonspecialist: Profit that is available to the work collective is being reduced significantly. But, you see, this is the main source of their industrial and social development, and material incentive. On the whole, the profit in enterprises in the cement industry that remains for the work collective will decrease from R166 million to R44 million. In connection with the introduction of new prices and rates, 42 of 73 cement factories will become unprofitable or have a small profit.

In the Donetsk metallurgical plant, the worker payroll fund will be cut by R8.6 million, or by one-fourth. As a result, the average monthly wage of metallurgy workers will decrease by R66.

At the Novokuznetsk aluminum plant, the material incentives fund (not to mention other funds) will get "thinner" by R876,000. The plant will not have the means for maintaining kindergartens, Pioneer camps, and a Palace of Culture, and other serious difficulties will arise with the payment of wages.

Many collectives of many industries in the national economy will be in the same position this year. It is for this reason that serious labor conflicts are coming to a head that could entail unpredictable social consequences, substantial losses, and a further worsening in the economic situation in the country.

Now, while the fire has not flared up, and while the heat of passions has not reached a critical point, it is necessary to undertake all measures to correct the situation, and to satisfy the legal demands of the workers and the trade unions that support them.

What is the position of the trade unions in this situation? What are they doing? The editorial office asked S.A. Arzhavkin, head of the AUCCTU department on questions concerning the protection of workers' economic rights and interests, answers these questions.

[Arzhavkin] The increase in prices and rates for fuel, energy, and transport has a direct affect on the production and social interests of tens of millions of people. The AUCCTU assesses the situation as extremely tense. I think that similar decisions must be made in such a way that worker earnings are not reduced. The measures undertaken by the government look especially unattractive against a background of inflationary processes that lower the real standard of living of the workers.

Taking into account the extreme severity of the problem, the AUCCTU has gone to the USSR Council of Ministers with a protest regarding the measures taken by the government without considering the specific situation, and without an adequate depth of analysis of the consequences. On 20 January, our letter was considered by N.I. Ryzhkov. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers instructed the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR State Planning Committee to report their proposals quickly, within a 15-day period.

In many of the letters and telegrams, the work collectives propose that they be compensated for losses associated with the increase in wholesale prices and rates. The AUCCTU considers that these demands are valid and supports them. In our opinion, the USSR Ministry of Finance should be instructed, with the participation of the AUCCTU, to develop a specific procedure for the indicated compensation.

Time is precious, and the situation in many work collectives is rather difficult. We hope that an optimal solution will be found quickly. If this does not occur, then we will take the next step. An interbranch conciliation commission will conduct negotiations with the government. It will be joined by managers of branch trade unions—metallurgists, foresters, chemists, power engineers, representatives of work collectives, and local trade union committee members. But, I repeat, it would be better not to lose time and resolve all of these hot questions in the very next few days.

Gerashchenko Views European Reconstruction Bank

LD2701212590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 27 Jan 90

[From "International Panorama" program, presented by Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Excerpts] [Kondrashov] Our next subject is an interview with Comrade Geraschenko, chairman of the Board of the USSR State Bank First, however, let me explain things: In East-West economic relations there can be no such instantaneous changes as, for instance, in the fate of overthrown totalitarian leaders. First, the new trends appear; only later does the fruit ripen.

An indicator of the appearance of a new trend is the creation of a European Bank of Reconstruction and Development for Eastern Europe on the initiative of the French and with the backing of the EEC. Recently, the representatives of 36 countries and organizations gathered for the constituent conference of this bank. Its initial prescribed capital has been set at $11 billion 53 percent of which is being contributed by EEC countries, and 15 percent by the countries of Eastern Europe, of which the USSR is contributing 8.5 percent. The remainder is being contributed by the United States, Japan, and six neutral European countries belonging to the European Free Trade Association.

So here is the USSR State Bank chairman giving his impression of the conference:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Tell us, what the interest of the Soviet side is in the setting up of this bank?

[Gerashchenko] Well, it is being said that we live in a common European Home, and in the construction of this home we should, of course, bear in mind the interests of all its inhabitants. In this case, it seems to us that financial assistance and bank credits might apply a certain amount of acceleration to the economic and social transformations now taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe since the potential production possibilities are limited, at times. In this case, it seems that the creation of this unified bank for the development of certain priority areas, including not only individual projects that would be financed in various countries but also regional projects, will facilitate to a considerable extent the economic development of the countries of Eastern Europe, and of course, the Soviet Union. In addition, we naturally have been discussing our entry into a number of international organizations to which previously we did not belong for various reasons. For this reason, this is a bank in which we naturally must participate.

[Correspondent] Is it only state enterprises that can count on receiving credit, or can private and cooperative enterprises do so, as well?

[Gerashchenko] The founding documents will state that any enterprise may be the recipient of credit, and in this case our Western partners lay greater emphasis on private enterprises, while we are saying that as yet we do not have a sufficient number of private enterprises and that the conditions for this are not yet ripe, as they say. In this respect, we cited examples of the fact that it is the same in France and Italy, where a large number of major enterprises belong to the state sector. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] So far, only talks have been held. When will the bank actually be set up?

[Gerashchenko] Well, I would say that among our Western partners, and in the main they may quite justifiably be called partners, there is a wish on the whole

that the documents on its foundation be ready by mid-March for signing at the appropriate intergovernment level so that the parliaments of the countries involved—and we must not forget the fact that in our country our Supreme Soviet also will consider this matter—then will be able to give the go-ahead for the bank after ratifying these documents and it could state its active work at the end of 1990 or at least beginning 1 January 1991. [end recording]

Intersector Commercial Bank Begins Operation

PM2601152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Economic Observer V. Romanyuk article under rubric "Events, Facts, Opinions": "Capital Being Mobilized"]

[Text] The Intersector Commercial Bank for the Development of Wholesale Trade has carried out its first transactions.

The main founding members of the new bank are the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies [Gossnab] and a number of its territorial organs, the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, major firms like the "Mikrokhirurgiya Glaza" Intersector Scientific Technical Complex and "Mikroelektronika" Science and Production Association, and—as one of the major shareholders—the Main Administration for State Insurance, which immediately perceived the promising nature of the new banking institution.

"We perceive our main task as being to assist the development of the country's market," V. Yakunin, chairman of the Intersector Commercial Bank Board, said. "First, by means of our credit facilities, we will be able to stimulate the production of scarce categories of products, and second—and this is the bank's 'thrust'—we will not only provide money credits for the expansion of production but will also help 'convert them into goods' (which is much more important than money itself today). Furthermore, the bank has already started helping the USSR Gossnab's territorial organs to acquire material resources in the volumes required to meet regions' needs."

The major consumers of credits will be commercial economically accountable centers, which are increasingly active in entering the market. There are 140 of them, and they perform their operations on the basis of buying and selling and of maneuvering resources, rather than the traditional distribution of quotas. Finally, the bank's armory also contains traditional services with regard to factoring (buying out suppliers' outstanding debts), leasing (credit funding of lease operation), and others.

Let us emphasize the new commercial bank's links with the market's development. With an incorporation capital of R55 million, the wholesale trade bank already has R170 million to its credit, and this amount is expected to reach R600 million by year's end. They started on a small scale—provision of a series of short-term credits which produce quick returns. The Chelyabinsk territorial administration borrowed R10 million for the acquisition of material resources, and the Chelyabinsk and Magnitogorsk metallurgical combines each borrowed R30 million for the same purpose. The Orsk tractor trailer plant took out a longer-term loan—it was a matter of developing the production of output which is in really great demand.

Next in line are long-term projects requiring further study in greater depth. This is why the bankers are in no special hurry. An entire series of projects to a total value of R400 million has been suggested by the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry. Most of them are geared to expanding pulp and paper production. The bank will have to select the most promising ones and give them credits. In the experts' opinion, credits could be advantageously invested in the production of paint and varnish products for the furniture industry. Furniture industry workers are prepared to pay in kind and to increase furniture deliveries to the market.

And finally, leasing. "Glavalmazzoloto" Association enterprises are eagerly leasing equipment. Mining equipment rapidly becomes obsolete and worn out, and enterprises find it more advantageous to renew it more frequently. On the other hand, leasing does not require too high payments all at once. The bank also benefits—such deals promise a 10-percent annual charge. The bank is also preparing to get actively involved in commodity market operations.

True, the new commercial bank has also encountered difficulties and unexpected setbacks. The bankers, bearing in mind their main task—to assist the market's development—defined a circle of enterprises manufacturing the scarcest products. They then offered them credits to expand production. The terms of this offer were quite preferential. But refusals soon started pouring in. Enjoying a monopoly position in their sphere, the enterprises in question were unwilling to take on additional worries, hoping in all probability to "play" with prices.

V. Yakunin found the specialist banks' clearly negative attitude toward the commercial bank especially disappointing. Many founder members had accounts with either the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction or the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. But the specialist banks all offered resistance when they received instructions to transfer substantial amounts to the USSR State Bank Moscow City Administration, where the deposits of the bank for wholesale trade were held. The new bank did win some of the battles, but it is still waiting to collect its entire incorporation capital because shareholders cannot get their money out of the specialist banks.

"I am convinced that commercial banks and specialist banks must cooperate, making up a single banking

system," Viktor Konstantinovich said. "The practice of creating a banking pool (consortium) is widespread in the world, but departmental ambitions often gain the upper hand in our country. And yet it would be possible to successfully cooperate, especially by effecting payments through a clearing system. As for competition, it ought to be conducted in civilized forms and should concern the quality of banking operations and the provision of additional banking services."

RSFSR Food Production Problems Examined

PM2601145790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "At RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers which discussed the results of the socioeconomic development of the RSFSR in 1989 was held 23 January. It noted that work aimed at the social reorientation of the economy, improvement of the state of finances, and structural restructuring of the economy was carried out during the past year. The consumer goods production growth rate outstripped the growth rate of the production of the means of production, and measures to enhance people's well-being were implemented.

However, it proved impossible during the past year to overcome many of the negative processes operating in the national economy, and to achieve most of the set socioeconomic development indicator targets.

Produced national income increased by 2.3 percent against the 4.8 percent under the annual plan and the 4.5 attained in 1988, and the volume of industrial output increased by 1.4 percent against the 4.3 percent planned.

Industrial performance in the second half of 1989 was particularly unsatisfactory. The production volume during this period increased only by 0.7 percent, and in December it fell by 1.5 percent against December 1988.

Delivery discipline deteriorated during the past year. Overall, contract commitments were only 98.6 percent met by republic industry. One-fifth of associations and enterprises failed to meet their delivery commitments. Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy, USSR of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry, USSR Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building, USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, RSFSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, RSFSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the RSFSR State Agro-industrial Committee [Gosagroprom], and RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom failed to deliver substantial quantities of output. The industry of all autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts failed to meet its contract commitments.

The agricultural production growth rate achieved within the republic's agro-industrial complex made it impossible to eliminate the strained situation in the supply of food products. The state order for grain purchases was only 65 percent fulfilled, and only in 22 RSFSR territories did farms meet their targets. Procurement of potatoes and vegetables was below the 1988 level.

Purchases of livestock, poultry, and milk in the republic as a whole increased only by 2 percent, which is considerably less than planned. The Councils of Ministers of the Bashkir and Tatar Autonomous Republics, Krasnodar Kray Soviet Exective Committee [krayispolkom], and Volgograd, Orenburg, and a number of other oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkom] displayed lack of discipline in the deliveries of meat products to union and republic stocks.

The transportation situation remains complex. The performance of railroad transport, especially during the second half of the year, was very unsteady, which seriously disrupted the operation of enterprises and organizations in other sectors of the national economy and led to considerable labor, material, and financial losses.

Serious shortcomings persist in capital construction. The commissioning of almost 50 percent of state-order projects and capacities was not assured. The volume of unfinished construction increased. In 1989 some 70 million square meters of housing from all sources of finance were commissioned, which constitutes 96 percent of the plan. The volumes of commissioned housing and other sociocultural facilities have decreased in comparison with 1988.

The performance of the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions, the Moscow City Construction Committee [Mosstroykomitet], Lenigrad City Construction Committee [Lenstroykomitet], and the RSFSR Agroprom Construction Trust [Rosagropromstroy] in the construction of social sphere projects in 1989 was unsatisfactory. A considerable number of residential houses were not completed in the Chechen-Ingush and North Ossetian Autonomous Republics, Krasnodar Kray, and Kurgan, Orenburg, Gorkiy, Tomsk, Tyumen, Astrakhan, and Volgograd oblasts.

The measures adopted in 1989 to overcome the republic budget deficit made it possible to fulfill the RSFSR State Budget for revenue. Nonetheless, the financial situation remains taut. Inflationary tendencies have intensfied. The population's incomes for the year increased by 14.2 percent, while expenditure increased by 10.7 percent. The population's unsatisfied demand for goods and services increased by R12.5 billion.

Mass strikes, the deterioration of interethnic relations in a number of the country's regions, and the slackening of labor and production discipline have had an extremely negative impact on the results of the national economic performance in 1989.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers has instructed RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and Moscow and Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committess [gorispolkoms] to carefully analyze the results of the work of national economic sectors, enterprises, and organizations in 1989, adopt measures forthwith to eliminate existing miscalculations and omissions, and, in cooperation with labor collectives, embark on ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of the plan and budget for 1990, and improving the state of the republic economy.

Stress was laid on the importance of paying more attention to ensuring the satisfaction of people's day-to-day needs and requirements. The order has been issued to step up most resolutely work to ensure the fulfillment of the 1990 targets for a sharp increase in the production of consumer goods and to effect stricter monitoring of wages expenditure so as to forestall payments that have not been earned and attain the stabilization of the consumer market.

Special attention was focused on the need to strengthen the material base of the sociocultural sphere and on organizing the fulfillment of the set plans for the commissioning of housing, schools, preschool establishments, and other social facilities.

The republic soviet and economic organs have been set the task of adopting effective measures to enhance production efficiency, reinforce discipline, deepen the application of economic accountability principles at workplaces, eliminate loss-making units, and cut production costs and losses.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers also examined progress in implementing party and government decisions aimed at developing the material and technical base of the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex with a view to increasing food production.

Capital investments totaling R7 billion have been channeled into the development of enterprises in these sectors in the republic over the past 4 years. Facilities for the production of meat and wholemilk products, sugar, vegetable oil, confectionery, and other foodstuffs have been augmented as a result of construction, reconstruction, and retooling.

At the same time it was noted that the RSFSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], RSFSR Gosagroprom, RSRSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products, RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions, RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Regions, RSFSR Ministry of Construction in Southern Regions, and RSFSR Ministry of Construction in Eastern Regions, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and Moscow and Leningrad Gorispolkoms have not secured in the current 5-Year Plan the priority development of the food and processing sectors and the necessary increases in foodstuff production.

The greatest laggardness in the commissioning of production capacities has occurred in the sugar-refining industry in Voronezh, Ryazan, and Belgorod Oblasts, and the Tatar and Bashkir Autonomous Republics; in the oil and fat producing industry in Ivanovo, Rostov, and Irkutsk Oblasts and Khabarovsk and Maritime krays; the potato product industry in Gorkiy and Tyumen Oblasts and Mari and Chuvash Autonomous Republics; the flash-freezing fruit and vegetable industry in Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays and the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic; and pasta production in Amur, Moscow, and Yaroslavl Oblasts and Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Sharp criticism was leveled at leaders of construction ministries and departments. In 1989 not one of them coped with the planned volumes of construction as regards food and processing industry projects.

Special attention was devoted to the accelerated commissioning of imported production lines which will make it possible to obtain additional quantities of high-grade products within a short time.

At the same time it was stressed that in many autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts existing capacities for the production of food are being utilized unsatisfactorily, questions of additional resources are not resolved promptly, enterprises' economic interest in the efficient processing of raw materials is not being stimulated, the increased output of food products on this basis is not being ensured, and poor use is made of urban industrial potential to resolve these problems.

Targets for the creation of a network of small-capacity fruit and vegetable canning units, bakeries, and meat and dairy and other food production shops are being implemented too slowly.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers has instructed leaders of the RSFSR Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone Gosagroprom, the RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products, and other RSFSR ministries and departments and local soviet organs to adopt exhaustive measures to increase the production and improve the supply of food to the republic population.

The session was addressed by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was attended by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Industrial Output Rises 'Only by 1.7 Percent'

LD2901091390 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 29 TASS—Soviet industrial output went up only by 1.7 per cent in 1989, according to information of the State Committee for Statistics published on Sunday.

Economists blame the low growth rate on irregular deliveries of raw materials, the unwillingness of industrial enterprises to take higher state orders and the loosening of contract and labour discipline.

The recent miners' strikes are one of the reasons for the low growth rate. Coal production went down by 32 million tonnes in 1989 in comparison with the previous year. As a result of the strikes, the economy received seven million tonnes of coal less than we expected. This in turn, worsened the situation in metallurgy.

However, miners' strikes are not the most important reason for the reduction of the Soviet Union's industrial growth rate. One of the reasons for the reduction of coal output was that consumers rejected some types of ineffective solid fuel.

Interruptions in the supply of coking coal are one of the reasons for the metallurgical complex not fulfilling in 1989 the state order for the production of finished rolled stock, steel pipes, lead, zinc and magnesium.

Average daily oil production, including gas condensate, at enterprises of the Soviet Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry was reduced by 2.6 per cent as against the previous year. Unsatisfactory work resulted in the fact that oil output was 13 million tonnes below the planned target.

The plan of the production of many types of equipment for the light industry, processing branches of the agro-industrial complex, trade and public catering enterprises was not fulfilled either, although special attention was devoted to these industries. Enormous capital investments made in the past several years are returning to consumers in the form of finished products, but with much delay.

And still, there are favourable trends. The growth rate in machine-building was greater than in the rest of the industry—3.2 per cent in 1989. The growth rate of the production of advanced types of equipment was even higher.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Carry Out Third Spacewalk

LD2601192990 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, who have been working aboard the Mir space complex for almost five months, today took their third spacewalk. They used the airlock compartment of the purpose-built Kvant-2 module.

The principal goals of the spacewalk were to assemble additional scientific equipment on the exterior surface of the service module and test the spacesuits.

Viktorenko and Serebrov began their work in outer space at 15:09 Moscow time [1209 GMT]. In the area of the exit hatch they assembled a special docking device which will later be used during the work to install the "space motorcycle." For more convenience in carrying out the planned operations in outer space, the crew removed one of the antennas of the radio-technical system Kurs from the Kvant-2 module.

The cosmonauts then installed a television camera on the platform, which is designed for geophysical research. The spacemen assembled units of the Ferrit and Danko equipment and two cassettes with specimens of miscellaneous materials on the compartment for scientific instruments to study the characteristics, physico-mechanical properties and structure of materials exposed to space.

During the walk the spacemen also checked the operation of the autonomous radio communications systems and telemetry of the spacesuits and inspected the exterior elements of the Kvant-2 module structure.

All in all, Viktorenko and Serebrov spent three hours and two minutes in space.

Before completing their mission, the cosmonauts plan to take another two spacewalks.

Zaporozhye Receives Papers, TV Via Satellite

PM2501161490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by nonstaff correspondent I. Sergeyeva: "PRAVDA Through Space"]

[Text] Zaporozhye, 24 Jan—The "Moskva" system is operating at the Kommunar Publishing House printing plant in the new year.

It records signals from a space communications satellite relaying radio and television programs and photocopies of PRAVDA and other central newspapers. Formerly, intercity telephone lines were used for these purposes.

The printing of the central press has become more profitable and reliable.

Military

Transcarpathia Halts Radar Station Construction

LD2701234990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Transcarpathian Oblast Soviet has decided to halt the construction of a radar station in Mukachevskiy Rayon. The deputies requested that the country's Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine confirm this decision.

All of the oblast's inhabitants had the opportunity to participate in the session's work. A direct television relay was set up, as was a telephone hook-up with the session hall.

Representatives of the country's Ministry of Defense, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Academy of Sciences of the republic, USSR people's deputies, and leaders of informal associations also were present in the hall.

The Transcarpathian public, one of the most densely populated oblasts in the Ukraine, is alarmed by the construction of the radar station. Particular fears center around the station's electromagnetic radiation and its use of large amounts of water when operating; there is already a shortage of water in Mukachevo and the surrounding villages.

Everyone knows that Transcarpathia is a resort area. People come from all over the country to relax and improve their health. There are more than 300 mineral sources available there. There is no guarantee that commissioning the station will not have a harmful effect on the underground chemical stocks that also feed the topsoil water levels.

These issues have been raised more than once. In response to public demand, the Transcarpathian Oblast Executive Committee formed a nondepartmental commission, the conclusions of which were published in the local press. However, the commission was unable to provide answers to many questions because these fall within the competence of the military departments.

The Mukachevo town soviet addressed a proposal to the country's Ministry of Defense regarding a temporary halt to construction, while a plenum of the Mukachevskiy rayon party committee and a session of the rayon soviet favored a complete halt to work. The convocation of an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet was the logical outcome as public tension reached its peak, but the initial cause of the passions was, by general assent, the atmosphere of secrecy surrounding the construction of the radar station. After all, rumor, conjecture, and assumptions abounded in the absence of reliable information. Thus began a wave of mass meetings and picketing, where participants demanded that the construction of the installation be halted, that it be redesigned for social needs, and that Transcarpathia become a protected zone and an all-union health resort. All these calls were heard at the mass meetings outside the buidings where the session was held. Hundreds of telegrams, letters, collective statements and resolutions, and telephone calls which the session received also unambiguously expressed this point.

The deputies could not counter their voters' will. The decision to halt the construction of the radar station has been adopted.

'Rumors' of Radiation Leak on 'Kirov' Denied

LD3001085290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0652 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Murmansk, 30 January, (TASS)—The commander of the nuclear-powered cruiser Kirov, which is on combat duty a long way from base, has refuted rumors to the effect that an accident occurred in the ship's reactor section and the crew received a large dose of radiation.

In a radio interview with Dmitriy Ilyuk, a fleet journalist, published in the local paper POLYARNAYA ZVEZDA, the vessel's commander, Captain Second Class Vladimir Rogatin, said that "the state of the vessel and its main nuclear power unit is normal and allows normal work to continue. All the crew are alive and well. The cruiser is being recalled from combat duty ahead of schedule because of the discovery of a gas leak from the first phase of No 1 steam-generating unit. We shut down this apparatus. From the moment the fault was discovered to the moment the apparatus was switched off, the radiation situation was and remains normal. The gamma-background on the cruiser is now 17-20 microroentgens per hour, which is within normal background limits. So there is no danger at all to the vessel, or to the life and health of the crew.

"The Kirov has been the subject of rumors before," the cruiser's commander said. "Many people no doubt remember how, not so long ago, we suddenly found ourselves off Spain, where the crew allegedly refused to carry out the instructions of the commander. Yet in reality, the cruiser was at the time anchored at its base."

Civil Defense Chief Deplores Cutting Corners

PM2501115190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 First Edition p2

[Interview with Colonel General V. Kozhbakhteyev, USSR Civil Defense chief of staff, by own correspondent Major A. Vorobyev under rubric "Topical Interview": "Civil Defense: Problems and Prospects"—date, place unspecified; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Colonel General V. Kozhbakhteyev asked me to conduct a small experiment the day before our conversation. To ask an acquaintance or anyone I happened to meet in the street just this one question: "What do you know about the civil defense general alert signal?" However, those I asked knew nothing about this at all.

This is what I heard from Colonel General Viktor Mikhaylovich Kozhbakhteyev:

[Kozhbakhteyev] I did not ask you to carry out this experiment on a whim. Unfortunately, not everyone is aware that wailing sirens and the intermittent sounding of hooters are the civil defense general alert warning signal. On hearing this signal, you must switch your radio or television to your local channel and listen to the civil defense staff announcement on the impending

danger. This danger can strike us anywhere but it usually strikes most frequently in large cities, where there are chemical, metallurgical, and biotechnological enterprises, and oil and gas pipelines.

These are the USSR Civil Defense staff statistics for last year: 379 major incidents and 1,223 dead. Approximate material damage: R837 million.

The following is taken from the record of incidents in 1990:

Work continued in the first weeks of the New Year to deactivate anomalous areas at the Podolsk Nonferrous Metals Plant. Hundreds of tonnes of highly radioactive soil have been removed, while more than 8,100 tonnes of low-activity soil have been placed in storage at the plant.

A gas pipeline exploded at a metallurgical combine in Magnitogorsk. Two people received burns and 13 vehicles were destroyed. The fire was extinguished.

An electric substation went out of operation in Aleksandrovsk, Perm Oblast: the city was left without electricity, heat, and water. In the city of Agdam (Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic) an explosion caused by a gas leak occurred in a two-story service station building. Two people were killed and another two are in a serious condition.

[Vorobyev] ... Would there have been any way to prevent these incidents and reduce the damage?

[Kozhbakhteyev] Civil defense is intended to reduce the risk to people and the environment to a minimum. An example of this is provided by the events in Ionava (Lithuania). In spring last year, some 40,000 people were in danger at one of the enterprises there. But, because civil defense exercises had been conducted shortly before and the actions of control personnel and evacuation options had been tested in practice, we were able to quickly evacuate people from the contaminated zone (which extended for 32 kilometers!). Firefighting crews worked together with mobile groups from two civil defense regiments to eliminate the effects of the accident.

[Vorobyev] Viktor Mikhaylovich, it seems to me that mobile groups are a new feature of the civil defense structure?

[Kozhbakhteyev] Our units are small in peacetime. Just a couple of years ago, they were intended solely for operations during the use of mass destruction weapons by the enemy. It became possible to use them fully when we received mobile reserves and equipment. Chernobyl and the tragedy in Armenia indicated the need to reorganize the civil defense system with regard to resolving peacetime tasks. Mobile subunits attached to the regiments have been set up for this purpose: They are made up of professional rescue teams which, fully equipped, can leave for the scene of accidents and disaster zones in a matter of hours. Special equipment is allocated to them.

[Vorobyev] Could you give us a more detailed account of how the USSR Civil Defense system is organized? In the past, much of this has been veiled in secrecy....

[Kozhbakhteyev] The fewer secrets we have from the population in matters concerning their defense, the better. The crux of the system is that it is organized on the basis of the territorial-production principle. In other words, civil defense measures are directed by soviets of people's deputies and by ministries and departments. Every leader is the civil defense chief of the collective under his jurisdiction. In practical work connected with directing civil defense measures, the chiefs—chairmen of executive bodies of soviet authority and the leaders of sectors, departments, organizations, state farms [sovkhozes], and collective farms [kolkhozes]—rely on small staffs. For example, for a large city under republic or oblast jurisdiction, at best this staff will have two or three officers, while the remainder are employees, as a rule. They too are few in number. But the civil defense staff in a rural region will have just one employee.

What, for example, can a city's civil defense chief of staff actually do? In any matter connected with economic activity—be it the equipment of an administration center or the duplication of leaflets and other documents—he has to go cap in hand to the leader of the installation concerned. And now there are also the new economic management conditions to be taken into consideration: every kopek has to be accounted for at every enterprise. Incidentally, the monthly salary of a city's civil defense chief of staff is one of the lowest: R130-140....

[Vorobyev] Viktor Mikhaylovich, as far as I am aware, the well-ordered system whereby "the leader is the civil defense chief" is maintained only up to republic level?

[Kozhbakhteyev] Indeed, at state level a deputy defense minister is the chief of the USSR Civil Defense. Within his jurisdiction are the chairmen of the union republics' councils of ministers, who are the chiefs of the republics' civil defense. Perhaps in that case it would be worthwhile to remove civil defense from the jurisdiction of the USSR Defense Ministry as is done in the majority of foreign countries? We could, say, assign it to the state commission for emergency situations that is attached to the USSR Council of Ministers. And another point: Is it not time we clearly set out the duties and degree of responsibility of leaders of all ranks with regard to carrying out defense measures, as well as the procedure for ministry and department involvement in civil defense? In short, we need a law on civil defense.

At the moment, some directors and department leaders who cannot see beyond tomorrow are not particularly bothered about protecting the population. Incidents often happen precisely as a result of these leaders' incompetence and their negligent attitude to their responsibilities. They even send their deputies or anyone else who is free to the civil defense courses instead of attending themselves.... Given this kind of approach, it

is not surprising that there is not a word about civil defense either in the Law on State Enterprise or in the Law on Cooperatives.

[Vorobyev] In short, the residual approach to the problems of protecting the population is clearly in evidence here. Surely there must have been a crucial change in attitude to these problems since the Armenian earthquake and the events in Chernobyl?

[Kozhbakhteyev] There have been some improvements. Professional rescue centers are being set up, run on a voluntary basis. Our nonparamilitary formations have stepped up their work. State commissions for emergency situations have at last been set up at all levels across the country. Civil defense is being improved and equipped with new resources and apparatus. But, on the other hand, there is still no unified system to ensure people's safety. Meanwhile, many ministries such as the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, for example, have departmental search and rescue teams and emergency reconstruction formations numbering tens of thousands of people. But these subunits can only be used with the authorization of these departments' leaders. I do not think this is very appropriate. Particularly when people's lives are endangered. Of course, civil defense forces themselves could make much more of a contribution to eliminating the effects of accidents and disasters. But.... The reduced size of a number of civil defense units does not allow them to rapidly deploy their forces and fulfill their duties in full. They still do not have enough special vehicles, high-efficiency instruments, or means of mechanization. All this is the consequence of the residual principle being applied to the staffing of the civil defense forces for many years. It is not easy to overcome this. The protection of the population also requires money. Civil defense expenditure is a kind of insurance policy for the future.

I would also like to mention departments' cunning behaviour. Since the Chernobyl events, the price of civilian gasmasks has increased 3.5 times, while there have been manifold increases in the price of dosimetric equipment.

It is hard to talk about this. But we would be able to save so many lives if we had enough properly trained mobile civil defense units furnished with modern equipment. And another thing. It seems to me that we need to have mobile civil defense units deployed in peacetime in order to convey civil defense units and subunits promptly to the scene of disasters. In other words, we need to totally abandon the practice of maintaining civil defense units under strength. There will be just one result of this: saved lives. There should be no cutting corners in this respect.